The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
A Journal of Religion

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Protestantism at the End of an Era
An Editorial

Prevent the Next War Now!
By Albert W. Palmer

Leave the Jewish Problem Alone!
By Albert Levitan

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In This Issue

ALBERT LEVITAN

is a graduate student in the University of Iowa. In returning to the discussion of the future of the Jew in the United States, Mr. Levitan carries on a series of interchanges of opinion in which Dr. Joseph Ernest McAfee, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and the editorial columns of The Christian Century have already had a part. It may be expected that this frank expression on the part of a competent member of the rising generation of American Jews will lead to still further repercussions in these pages.

ALBERT W. PALMER

The distinguished president of the Chicago theological seminary has long been conspicuous as one of the most fearless workers on behalf of peace in the middle west. Dr. Palmer's conviction as to the urgency of this issue and the need for drastic action on the part of the churches and their members has a most unusual background. As a pastor on the Pacific coast, at Oakland, Calif., he witnessed the slow growth of strained relations between this nation and the orient and the poisoning of the public mind in California with suspicion, first toward Chinese, later toward Japanese, and still later toward Filipinos. From Oakland Dr. Palmer went to Honolulu where, as pastor of the famous Central Union church, he not only saw the remarkable success of the efforts being made by the constructive forces in the Hawaiian islands to weld together the world's most heterogeneous population, but he also witnessed the slow tightening of tension in the Pacific basin and the building up of the military and naval bases near Honolulu. It is this experience which has illuminated all Dr. Palmer's later peace leadership on the American mainland.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

April 25, 1934

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Calendar of Coming Events

Apr. 26-28. Ministerial convention, Manhattan, Kan.
Apr. 26-29. Central West Methodist Episcopal annual conference, Scott American Methodist Episcopal church, Denver, Colo.
April 29. Brotherhood day.
Apr. 29-May 2. Philadelphia area, Jason Lee centennial-celebration, Methodist.
Apr. 30-May 2. Fifth meeting of the Institute for education by radio, Ohio State university, Columbus.
Apr. 30-May 2. Fifth missionary education institute, First Baptist church, Indianapolis.
Apr. 30-May 2. Indianapolis missionary educational institute, interdenominational, First Baptist church, Indianapolis.
Apr. 30-May 2. Ministerial convention, Stockton, Kan.
May 1, 2. Women's American Baptist home and foreign missions society, Cambridge, Mass.
May 2. Annual meeting Indianapolis church federation, indianapolis.
May 2. Announcement of results of poll of Protestant ministers on war, to be made by Kirby Page, New York city.
May 2-6. Annual Evangelical conference, Huntington, Ind.
May 2-8. National Y.W.C.A. biennial convention, Benjamin Franklin hotel, Philadelphia.
May 3. Pioneer Youth tenth anniversary dinner, Town Hall club, 123 W. 43rd Street, New York city.
May 3-5. Ministerial convention, Hutchinson, Kan.
May 7. Massachusetts interdenominational federation of women's church societies, Boston.
May 7. Meetings in local communities to give publicity to poll of Protestant ministers on war.
May 7, 8. Church conference against war, Broadway Tabernacle, New York city.
May 7, 8. Chicago Baptist association annual meeting, First Baptist church, Evanston, Ill.
May 8. New England council of federated church women, interdenominational, Portsmouth, N. H.
May 9. Maine Methodist Episcopal conference, Portland, Me.
May 12-14. Indiana council of religious education, South Bend, Ind.
May 14. Colorado religious drama tournament, Barnes college, Denver.
May 14. Southern Baptist convention, Fort Worth, Texas.
May 14-16. Annual state conference, Disciples of Christ, Crawfordsville, Ind.
May 15. Church choir contest and festival, Northwestern university, Evanston, Ill.
May 15-17. New York state joint conference, Congregational and Disciples of Christ churches, Syracuse, N. Y.
May 16. Southern Baptist convention, Ft. Worth, Texas.
May 16, 17. Colorado Congregational conference, Walsenburg, Colo.
May 16-18. Biennial conference of the community church workers of the U.S.A., Community church, Kansas City, Mo.
May 16-22. Spring meeting, board of bishops, Methodist Episcopal church, Cleveland.
May 19. Anti-war parade, New York city.
May 19. War Resisters peace parade, New York city.
May 19-24. Convention of International union of brotherhood of rescue missions, Euclid Avenue Baptist church, Cleveland.
May 20-26. Conference of associate church group, National social workers, Kansas City, Mo.
May 20-June 5. Unitarian anniversaries, Boston.
May 21-23. Massachusetts conference, Congregational, Harvard church, Brookline, Mass.

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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EDITORIAL

PERHAPS it was the recent speech of Senator Borah on armament profits that did it. Perhaps it was the appearance of magazine articles and books on the same subject. Perhaps it was the effrontery of William B. Shearer in appearing in Washington again as a protagonist of the Bethlehem Steel company. Whatever the cause, on April 13 the United States senate suddenly snapped out of the inertia which for years has descended on it when investigation has been proposed of the part which munition-makers play in bringing on wars. A brilliant parliamentary maneuver on the part of Senator Nye and Senator Vandenburg carried through a provision for an investigation of the most searching sort, almost before the senators who might have tried to protect the armament firms knew what was happening. This investigation will get under way soon after the adjournment of congress, and it is authorized to find out not only what relation the armament makers have had to past wars but also what part they are playing in stirring up trouble right now, especially in South America and the far east. It is to be hoped that the term "munitions" will be construed as broadly as the nations themselves construed it during the world war. Sometimes cotton is as important in making a war as six-inch shells.

At Last, the Arms Makers Are to be Investigated!

The Proposal for a Peace Department

THAT hardy perennial, the proposal to establish a department of peace as a branch of the national government, giving its secretary a seat in the cabinet, has bobbed up again. This time it is being brought forward by Mr. Frank E. Gannett, publisher of the Gannett chain of newspapers. It has been approved widely in church circles. Thus, the Nashville Christian Advocate, organ of the Southern Methodist church, says: "This office should be created without delay, and we nominate Secretary Cordell Hull for our first secretary of peace." This editorial endorsement should reveal to the well-meaning citizens who are backing this idea its essential fallacy. The actual fact is that there *is* a department of peace at Washington. It is not necessary to nominate Mr. Hull to become secretary of peace; he *is* secretary of peace. Once again, labels should not be confused with realities. The department of state has no business other than to promote peace. The secretary of state is expected, by virtue of his office, to give his whole time to improving relations between the nations, and any study of the careers of recent secretaries of state, down to and including Mr. Hull, will show that they have so understood and performed their duties. It may be true that the state department sometimes falls into ruts, and thus does not always work in behalf of peace as directly and vigorously as might be wished. Such is the temptation of all departments after many years of life. It certainly is true that the state department is hampered in its efforts by an inadequate budget; a budget which appears the more inadequate when compared with those of the war and navy departments. But that there is a peace department in the government should be understood. Rather than call for duplication, let peace lovers agitate for adequate budgets and bold policies in this department which already exists.

Baptists May Reorganize Their Denominational Machinery

THE Committee of Fifteen of the Northern Baptist convention has made public its report, which will be a principal subject of debate at the Rochester meeting of the convention next month. Rumors as to its radical character are justified by the event. Baptists will hardly recognize themselves in the new garments which are suggested for their wear. The familiar jewels of boards and cooperating societies have been cast into the fire and there has come forth something which one hesitates to designate or evaluate until the denominational voice has been heard. A single missionary society is planned to amalgamate the four home and foreign mission societies, general and women's, the union to be fully effected within three years. The Christian education activities are to be unified within three years in a new council of Christian education.

There is to be a council on world evangelization. The executive and finance committees of the convention remain under new names, as does the board of missionary cooperation, though much reduced in size. The avowed purpose of the proposed changes is to achieve simplicity and democracy of representation, and to avoid the evils of the centralization of authority. Whether these desirable ends are accomplished by the new blueprint is the question now open to discussion. Whether the interest and zeal of the women can be maintained with the merging of the women's mission societies, home and foreign, into a single inclusive organization with the general mission societies, is a subject for debate. It is likely, however, that discussion will center upon two features of an administrative character. The less significant of these, perhaps, is the requirement of rotation of membership on all boards. Stronger opposition is emerging to the proposal to assign to the state conventions the control of all home mission work at present carried on within the several states and administered at present by the national home mission societies. This, with the continuation of the state conventions as the fiscal agents of the denomination, allocating and raising all denominational budgets, may endanger the ideal of democracy which the committee set for itself, and will make, it is said, the state secretaries in fact what they have long been potentially, not merely Baptist bishops but dictators.

What the NRA Is Up Against

IT IS POSSIBLE that the representative of the mine operators of Alabama, Mr. Fordney Johnston, rendered a public service of lasting importance when he declared before an NRA hearing that "as between civil war in the industry and subjection of the industry to three proconsuls working through a military ringmaster, we prefer civil war." The question at stake when Mr. Johnston made his declaration is an involved and somewhat technical one. But the state of mind of the coal mine operators, as revealed by their spokesman, is as clear as sunlight. Coal mining has been notoriously the most disorganized major industry in the country. Not only has it been a constant battleground between operators and miners; the operators have never ceased to fight among themselves. A year ago the industry presented perhaps the best illustration in the whole American economic scene of the necessity for intervention by the government to prevent its rugged individualists from committing suicide. Coal operators long since abandoned any hope of bringing order into their industry by their own efforts; Mr. Johnston's statement admits that the alternative to NRA regulation is "civil war." But these coal capitalists are so determined to stick to the old order of laissez faire that they "have definitely and finally determined," according to Mr. Johnston, "that we will not conform any further to any one-man (meaning General Johnson) determination of policy." This is pretty brutal. It is pretty raw. But it is also enlightening. It should serve to show millions of citizens exactly what the recovery program of the administration is up against. This is capitalism's "rule or ruin," and the fact which is today slowing down the Roosevelt program, and may eventually wreck it, is that hosts of industrialists cherish in their hearts the determination which Mr. Johnston has blurted out.

The Methodist Leftward Swing Continues

WHILE the coal operators of Alabama were thus announcing their defiance of the NRA the Methodists of the New York annual conference were adopting a series of resolutions which censured President Roosevelt because the NRA has not been made radical or drastic enough! The metropolitan press made much of the fact that this body, in which lay as well as clerical delegates participated, by a close vote rejected a resolution which openly espoused the establishment of a socialist state. That should provide scant comfort to standpatters, however, in view of the fact that the New York Methodists adopted such declarations as these:

> We hope the NRA will be strengthened and extended so that its real objective, increase of purchasing power, will be reached by means of a still greatly shortened working week, by curbing the retail price rise, and by such rigid enforcement of the codes that it will be demonstrated that the government, and not reactionary business, rules.
>
> We likewise appraise as futile, toward the final elimination of unemployment, those attempts of the administration in an era of surplus economy, to raise prices by subsidizing scarcity, whether on farms or in factories, by artificial rebates or artificial tariffs. In an economy of abundance such as ours we believe unemployment will finaliy be eliminated by the motive of production for use rather than for profit. Both productive and distributive industries are public services.

The fact that, after adopting such resolutions as these, the New York Methodists could not quite muster the votes to declare in favor of "the public ownership of natural resources, basic industries, banking, transportation and communication," is relatively unimportant. The members of this conference, over which Bishop McConnell was presiding, clearly proved that they are critical of the administration only where the administration shows timidity in proposing new economic and social measures to deal with the requirements of a new economy.

Nazi Bishop Makes A Concession

SUCCESSFUL autocracy over a people accustomed to a degree of liberty requires a nice balance and alternation of compulsion and concession. To salve the wounds which German Protestantism has received at the hands of the nazi government, Reichsbishop Müller has proclaimed amnesty to the pastors who were removed from their positions because of their opposition to the regime which he represents and to the policies which he has put in force. Pastors who combined political with religious resistance are excluded from the amnesty. As no exact definition of

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political resistance is possible, this leaves the way quite open for reprisals upon any who have made themselves particularly conspicuous or odious in their stand for the liberty of the church. Reports from Berlin indicate that even the beneficiaries of this generous gesture exhibit no unseemly enthusiasm over it, and that the simultaneous cancellation of some of the more bitterly resented new laws in regard to the church—under the direct instruction of Herr Hitler, it is said—did not help the matter much. These pastors all have an excellent classical education, and most of them remember "Danaos et dona ferentes." Even if their memories were much too short for that, it would be impossible for them to have forgotten that on the previous day Dr. Göbbels, minister of propaganda and enlightenment, while giving assurance of the government's protective attitude toward the church, had said, "There is no Catholic or Protestant press left in Germany—only the German press," and that Dr. Müller on the same day had announced the appointment of a layman empowered to reorganize the Protestant church administration "in spite of all opposition."

Missionaries Study Mexican Educational Problems

AN interdenominational conference on missionary schools in Mexico has summarized present conditions and made a start toward initiating new policies. The conference recognized as facts a tendency of the government to monopolize education, a tendency toward making all instruction actively anti-religious, a generally hostile attitude of the political leaders toward all religion, and a nationalistic temper which tends to restrict the work of foreigners in education. Religious instruction is forbidden in all schools recognized by the government, ministers are not permitted to teach in certain departments, religious corporations are not allowed to conduct schools, and in the federal district no primary schools are allowed except those which form part of the federal system. The temptation is to seek methods of evading the intent of the laws in order to safeguard the property interests of mission schools and to carry on their religious work so far as possible. To meet the conditions imposed by the laws, it has been recommended that the mission boards give attention to the establishment of Christian social centers, and hostels for students—many of whom have to leave their home towns and go to the cities for even secondary education—and to the production of Christian literature and the development of religious education in home and church. It seems quite certain that the school must occupy a smaller place in the total program of the evangelical missions. The rural districts and the smaller towns offer an important field for work. The restrictions are less hampering in these than in the larger cities and the need is very great. Since the close of the conference prompt steps have been taken to put some of its recommendations into effect. It has to be recognized that the mood of the Mexican government is neither anti-Catholic nor anti-Protestant but anti-religious and anti-foreign. Secularism and nationalism are the dominant notes. To carry on the evangelical tradition under these conditions is a new and difficult problem.

The Crusaders Start A New Campaign

FLUSHED with victory and with the proud consciousness of having done their part in securing the repeal of prohibition, the Crusaders are girding their loins for a fight against another foe. The enemy now is "the regimentation of industry," "economic nostrums," and "the trend toward a highly centralized, bureaucratic, indeed socialistic, form of government." It is an almost inevitable part of the life history of every organization that achieves the purpose which called it into being that it should look about it for other worlds to conquer. It seems a pity to waste an organization that is already in existence, and institutional pride refuses to acquiesce in quiet disappearance when its work is done. Both leadership and loyalty find more satisfaction in keeping alive the grand old—whatever it may be—and redirecting its energies toward some new objective. With the Crusaders, there was a special reason why a congenial occupation should be found in campaigning against the economic ideas which are embodied in the policies of the NRA and the associated, allied and subsidiary authorities, from AA to TV inclusive. The Crusaders derived their sinews of war and received their initial impulse and their responsible leadership entirely from a small group of capitalists who, vastly enriched by wartime profits, are the most perfect representatives of the principle of the private and monopolistic control of industry for the personal advantage of its owners. An important reason for the zeal of these capitalists for repeal was their interest in shifting their burden of taxation to the consumers of liquor. Naturally enough, the men who were interested in that are also interested in opposing "the forces which are destroying the liberty and individual freedom guaranteed by the constitution"—meaning the liberty of every man and corporation to run his business as he pleases with an eye single to his own profit.

Anti-Radical Forces Revive

OTHER organizations besides the Crusaders have found it an appropriate time to launch new drives against radicalism and whatever can be loosely described under that name. The recognition of soviet Russia furnishes an excuse and the supposed socialistic tendencies of the administration's program furnish an opportunity. The administration's program is not socialistic, but no matter; to the comfortably placed sturdy individualist all planned economy is socialistic, and it is a convenient word with which to damn any departure from the old order. The Paul Reveres have seen the lantern in the old church tower and are telling the country to rouse and ride against the hundreds of thousands of communists, especially Negroes, who are

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arming and drilling for revolution. No doubt the communists are working among the Negroes, as well as among other classes of workers to whom the orthodox labor organizations give scant consideration. The D.A.R. was recently embarrassed by the attendance of the Russian ambassador at one of its meetings in Washington. He had been invited, inadvertently perhaps, along with the other members of the diplomatic corps and did not know what he was getting into. The Ku Klux klan, which most people have forgotten about during recent years, has been showing new signs of life, directing its atttention now not so much against Negroes, Catholics and Jews as against "radicals." The immense amount of publicity that has been pumped up over the investigation of what Dr. Wirt says he heard at a dinner party derives part of its significance from the chance which it offered to make political medicine against the administration, and part from the existence of a large amount of anti-radical sentiment which was ready to be crystalized around any charge, however unsubstantial, which had in it the stuff of which headlines are made.

Protestantism at the End of an Era

IN THE DISSOLUTION and reconstruction of western political and cultural forms now in process, it is little short of infidelity for the Christian church to stand by and allow secular factors to determine the future form and function of organized Christianity. Yet so far as the signs indicate, there appears to be no distinct stirring within the church such as characterizes every other social institution. This from the standpoint of religion is the major disappointment of the past five years—the fact that no positive reconstructive and redirective idea has emerged within the church as the church's own response to the new situation. There is a deep feeling of aimlessness, if not futility, with respect to much church activity, and a growing awareness that something radical and comprehensive ought to be done, but no authentic leadership arises to direct the intelligence and faith of the Christian community toward realistic goals.

Instead, Protestant Christianity appears to be in a mood of desperation. It is not that the fundamental conviction of the importance of organized religion is impaired, but there exists a half-smothered, half-articulate sense of frustration, as if men felt the mechanism of organized religion had been thrown out of gear with reality. This feeling obtains no more among liberals than among conservatives, no more among those whose major emphasis is the social gospel than among those whose major emphasis is the personal gospel. Nor is the trouble felt to lie wholly in our intellectual confusion concerning the Christian message; it is felt equally to lie in the ineptitude of the social instrumentality by which Christianity functions in the world. That instrumentality is the Christian church.

We do not have a church which matches the new era. Society is passing into a new era, and Christianity is trying to function with a mechanism belonging to the old order, a mechanism created by the same forces which created the whole cultural system which is now passing away. This explains the dissatisfaction with the church. So long as the old order stood, the Protestant church stood with it, and its functioning seemed relatively potent and efficient. With the breaking up of that order it is no wonder that the Christian purpose finds itself frustrated. So long as we identify the Christian purpose with an institution which was the product of economic and other cultural forces which have now spent their strength, a mood of desperation will be inevitable.

Such a church will not command the respect of the general community, and its own members will regard their attachment to it as of no great moment, but rather as a trivial affair. Driven to desperate extremes to maintain its existence, such a church naturally takes up with all manner of devices to attract popular interest—pulpit stunts, popular games and entertainment and the various features characteristic of a social club. It also becomes an easy customer for money-making schemes, such as the Goodwin plan, which come to it with the offer of easy methods for supplementing a treasury whose depletion is due to the casual and trivial nature of church membership itself. These are superficial symptoms of a process of decadence which is fundamentally caused by the fact that we are trying to drag forward an outmoded church organization into a social order which it does not fit.

The pathetic fact is that no effort is being made to reorient the church in the new social situation. Our leaders are as helpless, apparently, as our rank and file; we are all striving to hold on to the old forms and institutions, using irrelevant and artificial methods of maintaining morale as if these forms and institutions were essential to Christianity itself. It ought to be said with vigor, and repeated until it echoes in every church in the land, that the Christian church in the new society that is struggling to come to birth will not be the sort of church which we have known during the four Protestant centuries, but a church that must be far more truly Christian.

The most staggering blow that Protestantism has ever received is the discovery of the fact that the capitalistic system and the capitalistic culture which are now passing away derived their moral and spiritual nourishment from the Protestant churches. This insight, first expressed by Max Weber, and critically clarified by Ernst Troeltsch, R. H. Tawney and others, is slowly but surely permeating the thought of Protestant leadership. It has become a commonplace now to read the early history and full development of Protestantism in terms of the birth and development of the capitalistic system. Protestantism and capitalism are twins—they were born in the same period of history—and they have lived in a relation of reciprocal support ever since. As capitalism is discredited, and a new economic basis of society takes form, it is inevitable that Protestant institutions must pass into a new phase.

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This does not mean that the central conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism was vain, or that Protestants should now adopt an apologetic attitude with regard to the part which the reformers played in that great struggle. But it does mean that the time has come for Protestantism to reexamine its own positive relation to the social order and in the light of its past (and present) relation to capitalistic culture to reorient itself in the society that is forming on the ruins of the old order.

Yet even such a statement of the situation may be misleading. For the duty which the church confronts does not derive merely from the assumption that the capitalistic system is done for, and that the church must therefore make a new adjustment. That would imply an opportunism which is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. The Christian religion will hardly consent to take a position of subordination or dependence for its own institutional forms upon the forms of society in general. It will insist upon creating its institutional forms in harmony with its own genius. Thus the duty of discovering new forms for Protestantism today is the same whether capitalistic culture goes or stays. In fundamental principle and in ideal the Christian church should be the same sort of church in every culture and through all successions of cultures. The reconstruction of Protestantism for which the present hour calls is not merely an adjustment to a changing social order; it is rather a reconstruction designed more truly to reflect the nature of the Christian religion. It is a change which Protestantism must make, not because the times are changing, but because we have come to see wherein the existing church is less than Christian.

Where shall we look for guidance, for standards by which to determine the true forms of institutional Christianity? We shall find help from many sources. But wherever else we look we must not fail to look back to the classic period in which the Christian church emerged as a new phenomenon in human society. There we are more likely to discover the characteristic features of the church than at any other period in the church's history. Some, readily agreeing with this counsel, will say that in the primitive church we have a fixed pattern authoritatively given and affording a criterion for the self-criticism of the church in all ages. It is not necessary to assent to this view in order to make available for our time the values inherent in the primitive church. It should be quite possible for those who take the authoritarian position and those who take a critical position to stand together and ask what the church in its original form has to say to us. Whether we accept its deliverances as authoritative or as inherently persuasive, will not affect the outcome, provided only that we press our interrogation of the early church with intelligence and thoroughness.

Taking, then, our modern Protestant church back to the first and second centuries and standing it alongside the Christian church then existing, what generic and characteristic differences appear as between the two? There are innumerable differences of an incidental sort, arising from dissimilar social customs, folkways, forms of worship, polity, mode of baptism, and of course differences due to the growth of knowledge through the centuries. If there are those yet among us whose intelligence allows them to fasten upon any of these marginal features of the early church as essential characteristics, so be it; others must look farther and deeper. They must also stand far enough away from the two churches to see them both in relation to their respective environments. And when they do so, there are four striking and fundamental characteristics of the early church which immediately stand out above all others.

One is the fact that the early church was an autonomous society.

Another is the fact that the early church was an ascetic society.

A third is the fact that the early church was *one* church.

And the fourth is the fact that the early church was conditioned and inspired by a great social hope.

As a social phenomenon, unique among social institutions and non-existent except in Christianity, the Christian church lived and developed for more than two hundred years in exemplification of these four generic characteristics. It is impracticable here to elaborate them in their historical setting. What concerns us chiefly is the fact that not one of them belongs to our Protestant practice or to the accepted Protestant theory of the Christian church.

In Protestantism the church has never been regarded as autonomous, as sovereign, in its own right. From the time of the reformation, Protestantism has recognized the sovereignty of the state as superior to its own. It has always felt that its first duty was to support the state—its wars, its economic interest, its imperialism, its tariffs, its chauvinism, its diplomacy. The state could always depend upon the church in the last resort to sanctify its policies with the blessing of its God. For four hundred years it has hardly occurred to the Christian church to assert its own sovereign authority over against that of the secular state. Both Luther and Calvin buried this Christian sovereignty out of sight—Luther by withdrawing the church's sovereignty into the narrow zone of church doctrine and polity, and Calvin by investing the patriotic and capitalistic virtues with the authority of the divine will. Lutheranism divided the field with secular sovereignty, while Calvinism entered into alliance with it.

Thus Protestantism has been a subservient Christianity, as contrasted with the Christianity of the early church whose martyrs witnessed to the sovereignty of God.

Protestantism has made no place for the ascetic principle—in the world but not of the world. On the contrary, it has been so fully identified with nationalism and capitalism that it tended to measure its own successes by the very standards which obtain in secular society. Our churches have no tests to apply to the Christian character other than the tests which the secular order itself supplies. The Christian cultus has conformed itself subserviently to the body of our secular culture, retaining no ethical marks to distinguish

it. We give our highest plaudits to men who have attained conspicuous success in manipulating the devices of commercial enterprise, but to whom the ethics and spirituality of Jesus are an alien world.

If Christianity is to function ethically in the new society, whether that society be capitalistic or socialistic, it can no longer take pride in its friendly relations with the mammon of this world. Instead, it must take a position apart, an ascetic position of renunciation, in order that it may live according to the moral idealism with which Christ himself endowed it. The ascetic principle is integral to the Christian ethic. It appears in Christian history in particular persons and in special orders. But it did not thus appear in the early church. There was no monasticism until after Constantine. Monasticism was, in its deeper meaning, a vehement and extreme protest against what the church had become. The church had sold its soul to the world. From that time on, the distinction between the secular and the "religious" was inevitable in Christian ideology and practice. The ascetic life was henceforth felt to be the true religious life.

There was a sound moral instinct at the root of this distorted and unnatural type of piety. It was a weird survival of something in Christianity which the worldly success of the post-Constantinian church had driven underground, but which was the glory of the earlier church. This something was the ascetic character of the Christian community itself. The appearance of monasticism after Constantine, and its absence before Constantine, were due to a fact which has been generally overlooked by church historians—the fact that the early church was itself an ascetic society, an institution which, though it dwelt in secular society, dwelt also apart from it. In the reorientation of the church in our time, ways must be found by which this ascetic character of the church shall be recovered and reestablished.

Of the unity of the early church, in contrast to the disunity of Protestantism, and of its social vision of the kingdom of God in contrast to the highly individualistic preoccupation of Protestant piety, extended treatment has been given in these pages from time to time, and will continue to be given. It must suffice in the present context to affirm that any attempt to reorient the church in the changing economic and cultural scene which leaves out the principle of catholicity and the dynamic of the primitive social vision will result in indirection and futility.

The Christian church has lost its way—under Protestantism as well as under Catholicism. It was carried far out of its way under the worldly seductions of Constantine. It will never find its way back to its true character until it sets up an autonomous life of its own, in ascetic renunciation of all responsible involvements with capitalistic mammonism, and accepts a state of tension with the political and secular order as the normal and perpetual condition for realizing its social vision of God's kingdom.

An epoch in human history is ending. The creative spirit of God is seeking to make all things new. Will his church come straggling in to the new society like a camp follower after the secular battle has been fought, or will it explore the new scene and prepare a divinely ordained place for the new social order?

Europe Calms Down

THREE months ago hosts of well-informed students of European politics believed that Europe was drifting toward an early outbreak of war. Some alarmists declared that hostilities would start before the end of this year. Few were willing to postpone the probable date for more than five years. It is too early to say that these prophecies of impending conflict have been definitely proved unwarranted. A general European war may yet break out in the near future. The continental situation, particularly in central Europe, is still far too dangerous to be viewed with complacency. Nevertheless, there are unmistakable signs that Europe is calming down; that the immediate war scare of January and February is passing; that some sort of political adjustment which may serve to keep the continent from war for a term of years is in the making.

This return of a mood of patience and accommodation to European politics persists despite the shock administered by the German budget. Had the nazi government announced its new budget four months ago with its striking increases in military, naval and air expenditures—not to mention the open appropriation of a quarter of a billion marks to the nazi storm troops—the figures would certainly have added enormously to the continental tension. But now, even when the British government admits that the figures are formidable enough to have provoked an official inquiry, and when the German answer to that inquiry boldly announces that "the demands of air defense for a nation of 65,000,000 people" require air armament on the tacit basis that the prohibitions of the treaty of Versailles are no longer binding, there is no appreciable increase in the apprehensions of the peoples at large.

To what extent public opinion is being manipulated from government quarters it is impossible to say. But certainly public opinion in almost all parts of Europe is undergoing a heartening change. Most of the press has stopped talking as though national interests were at stake which, unless immediately attained, must of necessity involve resort to military pressure up to the possibility of war. That there are conflicting national and bloc interests is still avowed. But that these must involve war is everywhere denied. Once more the common people have been close to the edge of the pit; close enough so that they have looked into its depths of damnation. And once more they have recoiled. The public mood now insists that there must be no war; governments are beginning to readjust their policies to take account of that insistence.

While it is still too early to speak of more than this change of mood—for the definite diplomatic conventions and commitments that will register it in formal avowals of policy are still in the first stages of negotia-

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tion—there are some elements in the new situation that are fairly clear. First of all, it is clear that the relation of the league to the situation has been reduced to next to nothing. The whole system of keeping the peace by threatening resort to the sanctions provided in the league covenant is in the discard; the recent Italian agreement with Austria and Hungary makes so much waste paper of the league resolutions for the future policy of Austria; it is now admitted that if the Geneva disarmament conference reaches any convention at all it will be only an agreement that "disarmament" is to consist of some form of rearmament.

Europe, in other words, is going back to the old system of balance of power. But this is a balance with a significant difference from the ones which have gone before. This is a balance with Mussolini in control. To be sure, it requires an understanding between Mussolini and Great Britain for its successful operation, and to that extent it limits the dominance of the Italian dictator. However, that understanding is apparently being reached, so that the growing belief that Europe is safe against war for a term rests on the fact that political events have so worked out that there is to be a term during which the word of il duce will carry most authority with regard to continental affairs.

From a theoretical point of view, this may seem far from desirable. A balance of power is always a dangerous political technique, and the assembling of such great forces under the leadership of the fascist dictator will be viewed with misgiving by all who still believe in the worth of democracy. Yet it must be admitted that Europe's peace has been threatened by a fact and not a theory, and that it has been because of the pragmatic necessity for making some alignment to deal with the menace of this fact that Mussolini's leadership has been accepted. Such a leadership will probably prove less dangerous than would that of a balance of power dominated by France, for while Mussolini will not hesitate to checkmate the nazis—as he has already shown in his dealings with Austria—he will not go out of his way to enrage or even to oppose them. A European balance of power led by Mussolini will provide a definite limitation on the scope of nazi foreign expansion, but it will do little to interfere with nazi internal policies (including rearmament) and it will even take positive steps to keep alive in German minds the hope of boundary revisions without resort to force.

It is in the light of this emerging realignment in European affairs that the immensely important interview granted by Mussolini on April 12 must be read. In this interview, which the Italian dictator gave the American journalist, Anne O'Hare McCormick, for publication in the New York Times and other American newspapers, it is possible to see the main outlines of the program by which Mussolini expects at one and the same time to insure Europe's peace and to assume Europe's leadership. The interview begins with a recognition of the old French demand for guarantees of protection. Mussolini is ready to grant such guarantees, provided they are "precisely defined," and provided they are "reasonable"—that is to say, provided he frames them. Here is an offer, it is clear, that the hard-pressed French cabinet will find it hard to turn down, since it at least appears to give them what they want but know that they have no chance of getting from other sources. Here also is an offer that the British may accept, since it safeguards an apparent shouldering of additional commitments on the continent by insuring that those commitments will be interpreted in the light of Italian rather than French interests.

If one were to try to summarize the main features of the new European situation, out of which there is growing this situation of lessened tension, they might be stated somewhat in this fashion:

1. A balance of power is being formed, with Mussolini as the outstanding figure, whose links will eventually encircle Germany. The relations of Poland and Czechoslovakia to this bloc are still unclear, but their alignment with it, in view of economic and political considerations, seems sure. The military weight of this bloc is expected by il duce to be sufficient, without respect to the extent of German rearmament, to hold the nazis back from military adventures outside Germany. Mussolini speaks of this as "a preventive period of peace," and assigns to it a term of at least ten years.

2. It is admitted that Germany is going to rearm, and that hope of disarmament is therefore chimerical. "Everybody knows that no nation will disarm under present circumstances," says il duce; but why not allow that rearmament to proceed, balancing it with certain guarantees to France and such expansions of the military establishments of the other nations as are already provided for in the British, French and Italian budgets, and as may be still further expanded in the future budgets of those same nations? In this way, the martial spirit of the nazis will be satisfied, while European security against an outbreak will rest on a frank accumulation of arms rather than on a hypocritical announcement of longing for disarmament, poisoned always by suspicions of secret war preparations.

3. Because of the unstable internal situation in France, continental leadership passes from the hands of that nation. It is quite possible that the present French government will fall. At any rate, it is too much harassed at home to continue an aggressive policy in other parts of Europe. As a result, even within the new bloc of which France is a member, French influence will lessen. This may open new opportunities for German commerce in southeastern Europe; it is almost sure to lessen political irritation along the Polish and Czech frontiers.

4. Mussolini has no interest in an attack on Russia, nor is it likely that he would permit his ten year truce to be endangered by a German attack, which would have to cross Poland. Russia, therefore, will be granted a virtual assurance against the likelihood of an assault from the west, and will thus be inclined to draw off more and more into absorption with her interests in the east. As Russia thus shifts her weight toward the Asiatic side of the U.S.S.R., one other important danger element in the European situation will move toward disappearance.

We present this factual description of what is taking place in the intricate diplomacy of Europe today, not

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to philosophize or moralize about it, but in order that the facts on which rest the current improvement in European morale may be understood. This undeniable improvement in morale indicates that, whatever may be thought of these new shiftings and rearrangements of power from a theoretical standpoint, a check has been definitely placed on the continent's plunge toward war. For Americans, moreover, this added observation would seem justified: This effort to secure a ten year truce has, in the name of "reality," involved a frank reversion to the traditional European balance-of-power politics. By virtue of that same "reality," therefore, it is to be regarded as a method of action in which the United States must and should have no part.

The Hidden Ego

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Hypocrisy, as we have been told, is a tribute of vice to virtue. It is also true that we pay a tribute to the grace of humility by concealing our ego. To make this proposition clear, and not to put too great a strain upon your intellect, I proceed to illustrate.

It was that gifted writer, Clutton-Brock, who said that we express our egotism indirectly by means of our nationalism. I do not say, "I am good-looking." But I say, "Americans are a good-looking people" and "I am an American." Ergo!

Or, again, I do not say, "I am a fine product of a man"; but I say, "They bred *men* in those days, my boy."

Or if the training of the young is under discussion, I remark, "we were not trained in that way." The hidden assumption is that we are perfectly satisfactory and nothing can be wrong which led to us.

It was Gilbert who made one of the characters in his opera sing words like these:

> If what's good enough for other young men
> Isn't quite good enough for me,
> Then what an exceedingly good young man
> This good young man must be!

Our criticism of others is often an assertion of our own pride in ourselves. There is an implied comparison.

Preachers are tempted sorely to this sin, but being by their profession advocates of humility, they find it hard to conceal their ego. They do it sometimes in the language of piety and sometimes in the language of self-depreciation. "What a poor sermon I preached this morning!" he says; but if the answer came "So it was!" there'd be no end of a row.

The ego dies hard. Perhaps it is a kind of alloy that has its part. But this is doubtless a heresy and therefore out of place in your orthodox journal.

Yours, concealing my ego under the blameless title of

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

An April Wood

ONLY the great Creator could
Have designed an April wood;
The bronze and coppery tasseling
Of ash and alder in the spring;
Its boughs of pink wild currant flung
In misty wind-blown scarves among
The green and silver tapestries
Of cedar and of dogwood trees.
Only He could time so well
A recurrent miracle
Of violets and trilliums;
Of the carillon that comes
From feathered throats as new life stains
Maple buds and osier veins;
Only God could have conceived
Willow branches, April-leaved,
Against a lilac-tinted sky,
And one small blue-winged butterfly.

ETHEL ROMIG FULLER.

Prayer

OH let
No friend who thirsts
For comfort, having turned
Expectantly to me, cry out:
"Mirage!"

ADELAIDE LOVE.

Microcosm

CAN this bright creature, standing like a god
Upon the world's high peak, this man whose eyes
Measure the distance with courageous glance
Be something fashioned in haphazard wise?

No pigmy this, although the dust of stars
Belittle his small world, for this man stands
Holding eternity within his heart,
And time beneath the power of his hands.

MARGARET THURSTON.

April

BECAUSE your heart
Is changeless and eternal,
A fire that constantly
Consumes the darkness,
I shall not fear
Death's haunting, icy shadow
In my last sleeping.
If earth—austere
And terrible in strength—
Is torn asunder
By seeds that love the sun,
I, too, shall wake!
Escape and quickly answer
At April's calling.

JOHN RICHARD MORELAND.

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Leave the Jewish Problem Alone!

By Albert Levitan

INTEREST in the Jews rarely lags, but in spite of the fact that periodicals are full of articles purporting to solve, once and forever, the "Jewish problem" the discussions do not get us anywhere. They fail to influence behavior, because they move in the realm of abstractions, where life cannot follow. Our first task must be to get a clear understanding of the origin of anti-semitism. Not to see how deep-rooted anti-semitism really is, how fundamentally ingrained it is in the Christian mind, is the surest way to Utopia whose capital is Bedlam.

The origin of anti-semitism lies in the proclivity of institutional minds—and all minds at this stage of civilization are institutional—to think of Jews as a *corpus,* and thus evolve the concept of an archetype "Jew," the "eternal Jew." When this piece of mental gymnastics has been performed—a process performed subconsciously by the genetical institutional mind—the next step is to drape the fictitious archetypal Jew with the character and appearance of the first Jew heard about, the story Jew. His character and appearance I need not describe. Anti-semitism is thus quite "natural" to the Christian mind.

I.

"Frankness begets frankness," said Mr. McAfee in his discussion of this question. I will, therefore, state the situation more bluntly and, I believe, more truthfully. Almost every Christian child before he attains the age of five or six has been impressed with an archetype "Jew" picture, and the picture is of the Christ killer.

This is the fundamental origin of anti-semitism. I am thoroughly aware of its economic origin, but economic motives alone, without the aid of this omnipotent memory, could never drive otherwise intelligent people into the madness of anti-semitism. Only the memory of that historical event can explain the beastly behavior of infuriated Christians toward Jews. Basically, in the Christian mind, every Jew bears responsibility for Calvary, precisely as if every Jew repeated over and over again, in every generation, the crucifixion.

This analysis does not open for us optimistic vistas in the future. But it is true, and if the reader will search deep into the abyss of his soul he will be convinced of its truth. Indeed, the fact is gloomy, but if we are to analyze the Jewish problem intelligently we must face reality. Only an unflinching perlustration of reality and clear thinking will enable us to ransack the dim future through the vivid past for a solution. The following cardinal points should, therefore, be remembered:

1. In the popular institutionalized mind there exists a subconscious archetype "Jew," and it is the Christ killer.

2. On the other hand, there is no such thing as Jew in abstracto. The nominalists were right. There are only Jews—Jew X, Jew Y, Jew Z.

3. The vast majority of Jews do not remain Jews by choice. Basically, the Jew hates his Jewishness, and bewails his fate. The only force that stiffens his neck and makes him glory in his Jewishness is the opposition of the outside world. Anti-semitism is what keeps Judaism alive, and should that determinative force be removed, within a century there will be no more Jews. The individual Jew will be very glad to unload his burden.

These three cardinal points are very important. The first point definitely excludes the practicality of the optimistic solution of The Christian Century, as expressed in its editorial of February 28, 1934. There is little hope "of a free meeting of the two religions on the basis of respect and equality." No. It is a mistake to think that Christianity can ever be willing to meet Judaism on a basis of equality. The two are too closely connected, and their histories are too arabesquely reticulated. The sight of a Jew will evoke a feeling of guilt in the liberal Christian; hatred in the massman. Equality in this case would mean defeat. To hope, therefore, that "the Christian mind" can "meet Judaism on the same terms as it is willing to meet Buddhism" is only a pious wish of cultured and liberal Christian gentlemen.

Nor can I share in the sanguinity of the editors in envisaging a solution of the problem in the willingness of Judaism "to share its most precious goods of the spirit with the gentile culture with which it is surrounded." This is mere evasion. What are these "goods of the spirit?" I know of no "goods of the spirit" which they have kept behind bar and lock, fearing to expose them to the world. The Jews have contributed more or less to western culture all the time. To hope that "if he does (that is, share the God-knows-what), there is ground for belief that in this direction lies a solution" is simply the good natured utopianism we have already encountered before.

These easy pseudo-solutions can never solve the problem. Jews have no esoteric cultural jewel which they can expose to the eyes of all on a definite day, as agreed by treaty between the high contracting powers, Christianity and Judaism.

But the greatest error of this solution lies in its fallacious manner of thinking. Both solutions of the editors are based on the "realistic" (in the scholastic sense of the term) fallacy. They are based on the belief in the objective reality of the genera "Christianity" and "Judaism," to the point of forgetting that after all it is entirely a personal, individual problem. Yet it is only in remembering that the problem is of the latter kind that there can be any hope for a peaceful solution, a hope which I share.

For I believe there is a solution. I am not very pessimistic about the future, and I believe that time will

crack the nut, if Christians will only have patience and give time time.

II.

There are in America four and a half million people —let us bear in mind that this means that there are so many distinct, atomic individuals—who are distinguished from the rest of the citizenry by their having a foreign culture and by their practicing an alien religion. Whether gentiles like them or not, does not really matter. They were freely admitted into this country; they are here, and to get rid of them would not be easy. Almost two millions of them live in New York city—and there they are. To expel them is impossible; east of New York, I am told, does not make good walking. These are the facts, and only the blind and the insane can disregard or evade them. But what is to be done about these facts?

These four and a half million people present a social problem: How can they be Americanized—and by Americanized I mean totally identified—economically, culturally, religiously—with their American environment? How can this summum bonum be brought about? I hereby grant that total identification is desirable, not because I am certain that it really is so culturally, though this too may well be, but as a concession to frail human nature. I agree with The Christian Century that "to imagine that the principle of tolerance can create a state of mind in which this tension will not exist, is a delusion. It expects too much of human nature." I therefore admit that assimilation is a "consummation devoutly to be wished for," and I only want to discuss how this consummation can best be brought about.

Approaching the problem in this commonsense manner it ceases to be a theoretical problem. It is essentially practical. Abstractly, not the slightest case can be made out against the right of a number of individuals to practice any religion they please. Western civilization is based on the many-sidedness-of-personality ideal. This means that every individual, so long as he does not come into overt conflict with the interests of society, has an inherent right to branch out in as many directions as he pleases. To deny this right in the abstract is to undermine western civilization and to subscribe, ipso facto, to the static-Asiatic *Gleichschaltung* ideal. In the western tradition neither the state nor society has the right to probe into the innermost recess of the soul of the individual. We deny that the state has the right to decide which books we can read and which we cannot, unless it be in so social a matter as sex. But there we stop. Since Locke, furthermore, we have been championing the principle of indifference; that is, there are intensely personal matters with which neither society as a whole nor the state as the armed hand of society is allowed to interfere. They must observe strictly the principle of indifference. Religion, opinions, philosophies are such personal matters. From this point of view, if we are to carry on western civilization, if we are to remain true to the western tradition, neither the state nor society has the right to deny the Jews the right to practice any religion they please. Theoretically, then, no case can be made out against them.

But the problem is essentially practical. No amount of abstract acknowledgement of their rights will solve it. Granted that they have the right to live a religiously autonomous life, the social problem still remains, namely, how can the undeniable social clashes between Jews and gentiles be eliminated? That is the practical problem, and it is on this practical plane that it must be solved.

III

There are only two possible practical methods which society might adopt to solve this problem. The first method is an active demand for, and, if necessary, enforcement of, assimilation; the other is, to use a cliché, to allow nature to take her course. Let us look at the first possible practical method of dealing with our problem.

1. As a social necessity, in order to eliminate social friction, and thus produce a harmonious society, the state might be called upon "to do something about the Jews." There is really nothing to get frightened about in stating the case so bluntly. Society has a right to work for its own happiness, and if the happiness of the individual comes into conflict with that of society as a whole, it is just too bad—for the individual. It is useless to object to this possible solution with the theory that society does not have the right to interfere with so personal a matter as religion. Nor will the principle of indifference help us very much. The facts of the matter are that gentiles are not indifferent to Jews, and feel intensely that their presence is a disturbing element in the normal functioning of society. Our abstract principles are, therefore, immaterial. But there is a very practical question we must first answer before deciding on such a course: Will such a procedure solve the problem?

To this question we must reply in the negative. History proves that such a procedure has never been successful. And for an obvious reason—because action and reaction are always equal.

History tells us that whenever the Jews were persecuted, whenever an overt attempt at missionization has been made, it has ended in indubitable failure. Whenever such an attempt has been made, what happened was that the law of self-preservation was brought into active play. Experience teaches us that a great number of people find it easier to protect themselves than an individual would. Consequently, whenever gentile society embarked on an overt and active proselytization venture, the Jews, instead of coming out and accepting the inevitable, have withdrawn farther into their shells. Thus the ghetto originated. It was not the gentiles who forced the Jews into the ghetto. Originally it was a means of self-defense, indeed, the only means of defense they had. Only later did the gentile world insist on their remaining in the ghetto. What happened? For once the fantasy of a mechanic-gone-mad was a reality. During the middle ages, the international Jew, of Dearborn memory, was a fact. Since they lived compactly, segregated

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into a small area, they were able to build up and perfect their own autonomous communal organization, the *khilah*. By means of the khilah a Jewish merchant or capitalist could easily get in touch with another Jewish capitalist, regardless of distance. The Jewish traveler from Frankfurt was sure of finding hospitality in Cordova. The khilah was an outcome of a real Jewish solidarity, but it was a solidarity which an openly hostile world forced upon them.

To force assimilation upon the Jew defeats its own end. Under compulsion they will withdraw farther and farther into their shell, and present a united front against the outside world. The so-far groundless fear of Mr. McAfee of a "Jewish solidarity" would under such a condition become a reality. The physical law of action-counteraction alone should lead us to expect such a result. But aside from all this, forcing assimilation upon the Jews will ipso facto make gentiles Jew-conscious, will poison their minds with a hatred against the Jews, so that they will not be willing to accept them. Thus, from whatever angle you look at this possible method, its self-defeating character becomes obvious. Observe! I do not—as I well might—object to this method from a theoretical standpoint; its immorality is disregarded; its horrible cruelty is stoically accepted as inevitable, but I examine it only on the practical plane, to the total exclusion of all ethical, theoretical and humanitarian considerations, and even on this rather brutish plane it proves impractical, self-defeating.

IV.

2. The other solution lies in allowing "nature to take her course," and we ourselves doing nothing beyond watching that she be allowed to follow her course. This is the only effectual solution for the Jewish problem.

That this laissez faire method contains the highest probability of an effectual solution can be demonstrated both theoretically and practically. Theoretically, the second cardinal point, it will be remembered, stated that the archetype "Jew" is a fiction; that there are only separate, distinct, independent individuals who happen to be born into Jewish families. The problem is wholly individualistic. And those individuals would be very grateful could they relieve themselves of their burden, without any noise. They have already gone far in this direction. They know precious little of the Jewish tradition, and practice even less. In spite of their having been born in orthodox homes (remember, Jewish immigration in America is mainly a twentieth century phenomenon), they have none the less advanced so far in the direction of assimilation. These assimilated Jews are more or less suffering, spiritually no less than physically. They feel their odious cultural position very profoundly. They know that spiritually they are a people without a country, ships without an anchor. At the moment they are standing at the very brink of the Rubicon—waiting to see whether they will be welcome on the other shore.

Should society prove willing to accept them, one by one they will cross the Rubicon, indeed, as they are now doing. The crossing takes the form of intermarriage, the only form possible. As yet, intermarriage is still the exception rather than the rule, but if we will bear in mind the fact that the majority of American Jews come from the "Pale," the swiftness of their emancipation will be appreciated. Today the movement is still comparatively slow, but it is gaining momentum. Should American gentile society in the future retain the liberal attitude to the Jews which it has had in the past, within 100 years there will be no more Jews left in America. Of that I am certain.

The solution, then, lies in patient waiting and scrupulous watching, so that the hydra of anti-semitism does not raise its head. Should an anti-semitic movement gain ground in America, the present accelerating tendency toward assimilation will immediately be checked. Should gentile society become suddenly "Jew-conscious" and put forth an overt and active demand for assimilation, as sure as water freezes at 32°fahrenheit, Jews will withdraw into their religious shell. The medieval ghetto with its khilah and international Jew would then be only a faint adumbration.

History supplies us with practical examples proving the truth of my contention. In tsarist Russia, where open attempts at conversion and de-Judaization were repeatedly tried, they all ended in complete fiascos. The Jews resisted heroically such planned inroads on them by strengthening their faith in the God of their fathers and, like their fathers, preferred death to enforced baptism. In Germany and Austria, however, where they were given complete liberty and freedom, they gradually threw off their protective shell and assimilation was well under way. In fact, in certain places as many as 40 per cent of Jewish marriages were mixed. On this basis one pre-war statistician estimated that by 1950 there would be no more Jews in Germany. But he knew nothing of the Führer!

In America the same thing is happening, as is, indeed, inevitable. The Jewish community is fast disintegrating. Mr. McAfee complained of "Jewish solidarity." But he lives in New York, where there are nearly two million Jews. Had he gone out to southern, middle western and western communities he would have seen how groundless is his worry. There, assimilation is striding with seven league boots.

All this leads me to scan the future optimistically. Soon there will be no "Jewish problem." Within a century American Jewry will be swallowed by the general gentile society—provided an anti-semitic plague does not infect the nation. Should demands be made upon the Jews to assimilate hastily, should attempts be made to force them into assimilation, as certainly as Roosevelt is President (and that is certain enough), just as certain can we be that in that case the process will end abruptly.

Our solution can be summarized in two words: Watchful waiting—watchful of the plague of anti-semitism, and readiness to quench it; patient waiting for the coming day of complete identification of the total Jewish population with the American civilization, an identification which is already going on, slowly but surely.

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Prevent the Next War Now!

By Albert W. Palmer

HAS not the time come for the church to do something about war which shall be definite, practical and challenging to the imagination of the world? It must be definite, not made up of vague and pious generalizations and easy lip-worship to the cause of peace. It must be practical, something into which the average garden-variety of church member can actually enter with a keen sense of personal participation. And it must challenge the imagination of the whole world. It must present a vision of Christian internationalism in which everyone can join. It must look out upon the world with the zeal of a great crusade and the passion of a foreign missionary movement aglow with the urgency of humanity's most pressing contemporary need—security from war.

Three newspaper clippings lie before me as I write. They were all printed during a single week—holy week, as it happens, of this year. One is an account of a speech by Senator Tydings at the tercentenary celebration of Maryland. The senator says: "The world is prepared for war. Men do not seek to allay international hatreds and jealousies. It seems as if they are promoting these abnormalities of human conduct. It is a dismal outlook. Since the armistice of 1918 armies have grown and not decreased." After reporting the speech in further detail, the account closes casually with the observation that Senator Tydings was met and escorted to the university gymnasium by members of the Reserve Officers Training corps.

People Are Against War

The second clipping is an interview given out by James Truslow Adams, just returned from Europe, and it is headed, "People Wouldn't Stand for a War Now." It states that "the dangers of a European war, at least in the immediate future, have been greatly exaggerated." Mr. Adams believes that the British public is so strongly against war that "the first result of any declaration of war would be a general strike." He then reviews the other nations. In Germany Hitler doesn't want war—yet. France wants only protection. In Italy the people would never follow Mussolini into war "unless he had an awfully clear case of self-defense."

The third clipping is an interview with Hitler by Louis B. Lochner, published in the Cincinnati Enquirer of March 31, in which the German "leader" is quoted as saying, after a resumé of his plans for civic welfare and reconstruction: "But as one responsible for the welfare of my country, I cannot have Germany exposed to the possibility that some neighbor may invade us or drop bombs over our industrial plants or embark upon a so-called preventive war just to distract attention from troubles at home. It is for this purpose, *and for this purpose only,* that we want an army adequate for self-defense."

These three clippings may be reduced to three propositions:

1. The world is dangerously prepared for war—"sitting around a powder barrel," as James Truslow Adams puts it.

2. The plain people of the world do not want war—and, unless deceived by propaganda, would veto it.

3. The only effective argument for this vast and dangerous military preparedness is the real or alleged necessity for "self-defense" in every nation.

Now to these three propositions why not add another which ties them all together and provides a hopeful and reasonable method of escape from the problem they present?

4. If the great mass of the people, not just diplomatic representatives, but the rank and file of the common people, would adopt as a basic and unalterable principle of conduct, as a new universal, world-wide "folkway," a sort of eleventh commandment, this simple principle: "No hostile crossing of international boundary lines," the present hysterical fear of war would be abated and the necessity for armaments would pass away.

Mr. Roosevelt's Proposal

This idea is not new. It was presented by no less a person than President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the recent Disarmament conference. But has it received the attention it deserves? How simple it is! No legal quibbles as to who is an aggressor, no finespun moral justification for "preventive war," simply a definite assurance on a perfectly clear-cut situation the facts of which admit of no dispute and cannot be distorted by propaganda. We will cross no boundary line as enemies to carry death and devastation to other people. There's the boundary line, clearly marked, everybody knows where it is—we will not cross it with a gun on our shoulder or a deadly bomb hanging beneath our aeroplane!

Why did so simple and reasonable a proposition fail to fire the imagination of the world when presented by the President of the United States to a world conference? Probably because the world has lost its faith in the sacredness of treaties or the power of governments to keep them. After Locarno and the Kellogg pact why should nations promise anything more? And if they did, what guarantee is possible that these peaceful pledges would be observed?

But supposing not governments but the people themselves signed such a pact—the people by the million—and registered it with high religious devotion before God at the altar of the church! Then you would have something of which even the most cynical world politicians would take notice. Think of what might happen if every great denomination would recommend this to its people as a practical Christian measure to keep

their hands clean from the shedding of their neighbor's blood! Envisage a great worldwide missionary campaign supported not by governments but by the free gifts of the people of the churches to enlist the religious folk of every nation to an adoption of this simple rule of Christian personal nonaggression. Here would be a foreign missionary movement in terms of the most urgent need of our own day—a great bloodless crusade of the plain people for a warless world. This plan of a personal non-invasion vow has at least ten definite advantages, which ought to commend it to every sincere seeker for world peace.

A Realistic Movement

1. It is realistic. It starts right where we are with all this agitation and expenditure for "national defense." It says: Your military expenditures lead straight to armament races, and armament races increase the peril of war. Remove the danger of invasion and you greatly reduce the necessity of preparing for defense. Convince your neighbors you will not invade them and they will not have to arm against you. If they are not armed against you, then you need not arm against them.

2. It is psychologically sound. It appeals at once to the unwillingness of any normal human being to go out of his way to attack another. It separates the emotion of defense, which is strong, from the emotion of deliberate attack, which is abnormal.

3. It would therefore allay the genuine and excusable fears of nations lest they should be caught unprepared by a predatory or revengeful neighbor.

4. And at the same time it would prevent professional militarists from using the defense psychology to build up formidable and menacing military preparations which create a psychology of fear in neighbor nations.

5. One outstanding argument for this plan is its simplicity and universality of application. It can be adopted anywhere at any time by any significant group and does not require mutual agreement among nations, nor involve a lot of diplomatic bickering and balancing of economic and political advantages or disadvantages.

6. It builds squarely on the Kellogg pact which is both international law and, as a treaty duly ratified by the senate, good American law as well. It assumes that war is outlawed but recognizes that the right of defense against attack is, of course, inalienable.

Avoids Pacifist Issue

7. But it goes further and *personalizes the Kellogg pact* in the simplest, most direct and dramatic way. The trouble with the Kellogg pact is that only the governments signed it. This plan proposes that millions of people now sign it in its most elemental form: "I will never cross the boundary of another nation to kill or destroy nor will I support my government in doing so." That simple sentence signed by millions of people, the Christian church leading the way, might free our generation from the fear of war!

8. It does not raise the question of pacifism. Pacifists would sign it, of course. But we don't have to wait until everybody is converted to pacifism to strike this strategic blow at the war system. There is a great company of people who, although they are not yet ready to announce themselves as absolute pacifists because they are not sure as to just what they might do if their homeland were invaded, would nevertheless gladly engage right now not to invade anybody else's homeland.

9. By no means least among the virtues of this plan is that it would give the Christian church—the rank and file of its membership—something concrete and definite to do about war. There is a vast amount of inarticulate emotion on the subject but emotion without expression is perilous. "What can we do about this awful threat of war?" people are saying. Well, here is an answer. Sign the Personal Non-Invasion pledge! Get others to sign it! Contribute to the Worldwide Personal Non-Invasion movement! Help to convert the world to this simple standard of personal non-aggression! Here at least is something all truly Christian souls can agree upon: we will not cross any other country's boundary line to kill and burn and destroy and we will not consent to our army or navy being sent on such a mission. We may reserve our right to defend ourselves, if attacked, but *we are not going to make it necessary for any other nation to defend itself against us!*

10. Finally, it is no small advantage that such a plan as this competes with no other good work now under way or yet to be undertaken for world peace. Rather it would undergird them all with a great body of resolute public opinion in every land committed to the simple definite policy: We will cross no national boundaries except in friendship and good will.

Is There Danger?

Isn't there some sort of Association for Promoting International Good Will through the Churches? I commend this simple plan to their consideration. I intend to urge it upon my own denomination and would welcome help in doing so and also assurance from men of all other Christian bodies that they will do the same in theirs. Let's test out the sentiment of Christian America and see if the church cannot contribute at least this much toward dislodging the fear of war from its paralyzing grip upon the mind of our generation.

But not so fast, someone says, are there no perils, disadvantages or limitations to such a proposition? Might not some nation, lured by cupidity or greed, make an unprovoked attack upon a neighbor which had been betrayed into disarmament by the false security of such a popular pledge of non-aggression?

The answer is: Can we think of our own nation doing that over the protest of millions of signers? And if we would not do it, do we, except under the spell of propaganda, believe ourselves to be more decent, humane and ethical than other peoples? Everything depends, of course, upon an alert and heroic church proclaiming with passion and finality that all military attack upon another country is an absolutely unchristian, unethical deed as reprehensible as murder, stealing or adultery. And, if it be objected that individuals vio-

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late these personal moral standards from time to time, the answer is that communities hold to their generally accepted moral standards much more steadily than individuals. Individual Americans, for example, might tolerate slavery (if they were not to be the slaves!) but the community has completely and permanently repudiated slavery. Even so is not the Christian conscience of mankind now ready to repudiate aggressive invading warfare, if that repudiation can be presented as a clear-cut separate issue completely dissociated from the right of self-defense?

It may also be objected that such an arrangement would "freeze" the map as it is and make no allowance for remedying present territorial injustices or for adjustment to meet future population changes. This would be a serious objection if it necessarily followed. But does it? Are there no other ways of securing the adjustment of national boundaries except by war? How satisfactory or permanent have adjustments forced by war ever proved to be, except where they coincided with normal and reasonable considerations? "Venice is Austria's—whose is thought?" asked Lowell many years ago. But Venice is no longer Austria's, partly because thought, in the long run, is stronger and wiser than military force alone.

On the other hand, with the threat of attack removed, could not nations meet in conference to discuss disputed points more fairly and calmly? Would not an enlightened Christian intelligence say: We may disagree but we will not invade your country, lay waste your cities, kill your children, because of that. We will keep on presenting our cause by every method of persuasion until we win the moral approval of your own better conscience and the conscience of the world. And perhaps, as our present frenzy of nationalism, now stimulated by fear and excited by a supposed necessity for national defense, subsides, we shall come to a saner, more far-seeing age where we shall be able to think in world terms. Lower tariff walls and a wider sympathetic understanding of the common problems of all nations and the necessity of a cooperative world prosperity will enable us to make the necessary adjustments or will render some adjustments now earnestly desired relatively unimportant and even unnecessary.

At all events, let's arouse the church to go out into all the world preaching the gospel of peace in its simplest, most understandable, most unanswerable form: No invasion of any other land! No crossing into other people's territory except in love and good will. Reserving the right of national defense, we definitely repudiate national attack and will have no part and support no government in sending any hostile force across anyone else's boundary line!

What Will the T. V. A. Do to the U. S. A.?

III. The Coming Battle of the Tennessee Valley

By Paul Hutchinson

IN my previous article I tried to show that the plans of the Tennessee Valley authority involve not only an unprecedented application of electric power to the economic problems of this region but also basic transformation of their ways of living for most of the people in it. It should be fairly obvious that no such transformation can be brought to pass without a bitter struggle. And when it is admitted that the whole enterprise is expected to provide a model by which similar transformations may later be achieved in other parts of the nation, it can be understood why the opposition to the TVA will be far more than local. Unless I am badly mistaken, this Tennessee Valley project is going to provide the battleground for the most bitter, and probably most decisive, struggle between the old order and what for want of a better term may be called the forces of the new deal. It is in the Tennessee valley that the Roosevelt who believes we are "On Our Way" to a new sort of America is going to have to make up his mind whether he fights now or leaves that battle for a later generation.

It is quite impossible to enumerate all the points at which the TVA project, both as it is now taking form and as it appears in the minds of its leaders, challenges the American past. It is, I think, nearly true that there is not a thing in the whole program which is not at variance with some long accepted tradition of our national life. The fact that this enterprise is being carried out in a region where change has never been welcomed makes the boldness of this challenge appear all the sharper. Let us look at some of the issues which are being raised.

First of all, there is the local issue between the "planning" of the TVA and the individualism of the valley inhabitants. The rural dweller everywhere is traditionally an individualist, but it is doubtful whether the entire United States knows another individualist quite as fierce in his individualism as the hill-dweller of the Tennessee, Kentucky and North Carolina watersheds or the cotton farmer of the Alabama and Mississippi bottoms. The cotton farmers are at this minute trying to induce the federal government to protect them from their own individualism by means of the Bankhead cotton control bill, but no one has ever heard a Tennessee mountain farmer ask for government intervention. Yet whether he wants it or not, the government is going to intervene in the mountaineer's life, as well as in that of the cotton grower.

To begin with, the government, through the TVA, is going to force thousands of these people to give up

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their lands as the water behind the new dams backs up to cover them. Nothing unusual about that, of course; just a rather spectacular exercise of the right of eminent domain. But then the government is going farther. It is going to designate large portions of this region as unfit for farming. Part of it is to be reforested. Part is to be used as a base for erosion-fighting measures. That means still more displacements. Although the TVA authorities will not admit it, I am sure that the concentrating of farming population around town and village factories means still further relocations. All in all, any carrying through of the TVA dream to completion involves the arm of government reaching out to pick up the families of tens of thousands of these most rugged of individualists, to set them down again in strange places where the government wants them to be.

Farming by Government Pattern

Nor is that all. Whether the government moves these farmers or allows them to stay where they now are, the TVA does not hesitate to say that they must agree to farm according to the TVA pattern, or be dispossessed of their land. Lest I be accused of reading something into the enterprise that is not there, I refer the reader at this point to the article by Dr. A. E. Morgan, chairman of the TVA, in the Survey Graphic for January. Telling what needs to be done to rescue agriculture in this region Dr. Morgan says: "Our laws of land ownership should be changed so that if a man is handling his land in a way that will destroy it, the part he cannot take care of should be taken away from him and given to someone who will farm it properly, or be planted by the government to some growth that will prevent soil erosion. A man has no natural right to inherit good land and pass on a waste of gullied hillsides to those who come after him. We are not complete owners of the soil, but only trustees for a generation."

Something new and enheartening has happened in America when the head of a great government enterprise lays down such a principle as that. But let us not fool ourselves about what it involves. This whole idea of relocating population in accordance with regional plans worked out in some central control station, plus this readiness to avow the principle of limiting land ownership in accordance with land use, throws down the gage of battle to precisely the kind of sturdy individualism which, from the days of Jefferson down, we have been assured is the bulwark of the republic.

The Suspicious Mountaineer

I have named this first, not because I believe it to be the most desperate struggle that is coming in the Tennessee valley, but because it is the one nearest at hand and for which, I could not help feeling, the TVA is making least preparation. I admit that my visit to the region was so short that I had no satisfactory way of finding out what the isolated cabin dwellers and the people of the villages think of the TVA. But it stands to reason that, as so many moves toward something unfamiliar are disclosed, they must be puzzled and, it is likely, somewhat apprehensive. Social workers in the region assured me this is the case. One engineer working at the Norris dam (first making sure his identity would not be made known) told of the resentment against "these blank blank northern reformers" he had found in the mountain cabins he had visited.

This seems to me a natural, an inevitable, reaction, and I was surprised to find the TVA doing so little to deal with it. To be sure, the papers in the region carry TVA publicity, and the TVA chiefs speak before the chambers of commerce in the larger cities. But the articles deal in big figures or general concepts, none of which will mean much to the individual farmers. And the cities will not provide the decision in this fight. If the hills and the farm towns sabotage the TVA, it will be effectively wrecked. I was told, for instance, of a county parent-teacher association which tried in vain to get a TVA worker to explain the relation of that particular county to the whole enterprise. Now it happens that the TVA is going to call for a considerable shifting around of human life in that county, yet there was no TVA worker who had time enough to go and tell those people why. Before the TVA gets far in its certain battle with the farmer's encrusted individualism it will find out that's a mistake, a bad mistake.

The Threat to Private Utilities

I think I have already said enough about power to make clear the battle there. Last week I suggested that the power fight is nearly over in the TVA region itself, that the private power companies are so sure they are licked that what is going on now is only a rear guard action to enable them to sell or lease their present installations to the government on the best possible terms. But that does not mean that the fight is over in the rest of the nation. Indeed, the defeat of the power companies in the Tennessee valley will only intensify the attack from other quarters. It cannot be otherwise. With the TVA providing power at a fraction of the cost elsewhere, and with the private utilities struggling desperately to provide income for bond- and stockholders on the basis of the fantastic "write-ups" of the pyramiding period, of course these utilities interests will feel that the government's venture in TVA power must be smashed if they themselves are not to smash.

It is reasonable to believe, therefore, that the next few months will witness such an attack on the TVA in congress and such an outpouring of propaganda directed against the TVA in the press as has been concentrated against no other of Mr. Roosevelt's projects up to this time. The appearance of Dr. Hugh S. Magill, general secretary of the International council of religious education, as president of one of the organizations that is obviously planned to take a lead in this propaganda, shows from what varied and "respectable" quarters the attack will come. Anyone who has read of the ways in which the private power interests have been able to control most of the press in the past —as revealed in hearings before congress and summarized in such a book as Dr. Ernest Gruening's "The

Public Pays"—can easily believe that before these interests will allow this huge venture in government control to succeed they will plunge the country into a national and decisive battle over the whole issue of the manufacture and sale of power. Public or private utilities? This also may be fought to a finish in the Tennessee valley.

A Yardstick for Private Industry

But it is not only with respect to utilities that the TVA challenges the America that has been. Consider the relation of the local factory industries, which I described last week, to the national industrial problem. In the Tennessee valley they declare that these factories will not compete with factories already established in other sections and will not add to the national overproduction but that, by providing the inhabitants of the valley with the cash they have lacked in the past and by holding in the valley the young workmen who would otherwise drift away to swell the unemployment pools in the cities, they will help to stimulate all industry or to lighten its burdens.

Perhaps so, but when I think of the hullaballoo that was stirred up in congress over the modest little proposal to set up a furniture factory in Mrs. Roosevelt's pet sustenance colony at Reedsville, West Virginia, I doubt whether private business can be made to accept that point of view. Members of the TVA staff are sure that the way in which the Reedsville project was presented to congress was largely responsible for the eruption in that body over the danger of "state socialism." But how are you to present the industrialization, by means of government credits and under government supervision according to government plans, of a large part of seven states without raising the same issue, but in greatly enlarged form? How, for instance, are you to convince Argo that the starch factories to be located next to the new potato ranches in the Tennessee valley do not represent government-fostered competition with the private starch business? Or how are you to convince the soap companies of Milwaukee or Cincinnati, or the shoe companies of St. Louis and Brockton, that the little soap and shoe factories in the valley are not going to cut into their preserves? Perhaps it can be done, but not without another battle.

A Government Credit System

The provision of government credits for all these enterprises is, it seems to me, almost sure to precipitate a struggle. Government credit comes close to government banking; there are plans on foot for such widespread use of the federal credit in the valley that it is hard to see why some TVA planner hasn't already proposed to drop all intermediate bodies and simply take over the banks. Here's a simple illustration: In order to increase the use of power by private homes, the TVA has organized the Electric Home and Farm authority, which has one million of capital and ten millions of credit to finance individual purchase of electric appliances. This EHFA functions in two ways. It goes to the electric appliance manufacturers and cracks down on them to turn out electric stoves, refrigerators, irons, vacuum cleaners, and so on, which will meet government specifications and yet be cheap. A spokesman for the organization assured me that they would have the big companies—General Electric, Westinghouse, the Frigidaire division of General Motors and the like—selling their electric refrigerators for $50 by midsummer. Then it turns around, having beaten the price down to a half or even a quarter of what it has been, and finances the individual citizen in buying the product.

One sees this repudiation of the old order epitomized and, as it were, advertised in the town of Norris. Not the Norris dam—that wall of concrete that is being thrown across the Clinch river to provide a well that won't run dry for the hungry turbines at Muscle Shoals—but the town of Norris, the model community for two thousand people which the TVA is constructing for those who are now building the dam. The town of Norris might have been built as an old-style construction camp. That's what it is today and that's what it will be for the next two and a half years, until the dam is built—a construction camp for 1,700 men who work five and a half hours a day in four shifts. The men in the TVA who have misgivings about what is to happen at Norris after the dam is finished (there are some) defend the careful planning and permanent nature of the town by pointing out that it is not costing much more than an ordinary rough-and-ready, here-today-and-gone-tomorrow camp.

A Model for American Towns

But this is distinctly not a here-today-and-gone-tomorrow proposition. It is a model community in which the TVA definitely means to show the people of the Tennessee valley today what the communities of that region are to be tomorrow. And as such, there is scarcely a thing in Norris which does not fling down a challenge to the former order of life in the United States. The land is to be kept out of all speculation in real estate, in contrast to what happened at Muscle Shoals. The houses, with their electric heating and cooking, premise power at ridiculously low rates. The stores—no competition, all goods up to government standard but produced and sold at costs that make no allowance for heavy advertising or profit overhead, no sales of the shoddy or harmful stuff that Stuart Chase calls "illth"—are a blow in the face to the stores of every town and city in the United States. The schools are planned to be equally a challenge to the schools of the normal public school system. Even the churches are likely to represent a break with the past! There's a fight on over that matter right now, and considerable history being made, but so many of the major factors are still to be kept "off the record" that I cannot tell that story. Suffice it to say that there will probably be no sectarian competition in Norris. I put that "probably" in because that is another fight that the TVA has still to see through to its finish.

All this, as I realized it must be when I first began to write, is almost ludicrously inadequate either as a

description of what the TVA is doing and planning or as a marshaling of the forces that are bound to come into action against it before it can achieve the dreams of its directors. But there has been enough here, I trust, to make clear the reasons why the ranks of the opponents of the TVA will quickly fill up with champions of unrestricted individualism, those who oppose government in business, those who still believe that laissez faire will work, those who believe in profit-seeking as the main drive in national economic life, as well as that host of those who just find themselves instinctively hankering for the old ways and shying away from the new.

And who will rally to support the men who are engaged in trying to bring this great dream to fruition? Well, I think they can count on the support of most of the people of the Tennessee valley, so long as the TVA funds keep rolling in. Even the suspicions of the farmers will be lulled, or remain largely unuttered, while they have unaccustomed cash in their pockets. I think, also, that they can count on the support of the farmers of the nation if their fertilizer plants produce phosphates at ten cents, or more, below the present price—as they probably will. There will be in addition a certain amount of valuable party support if the TVA continues to be the child of a democratic administration.

But over and above all these elements of support, the one that counts most is the support of the President. Admittedly, the directors of the TVA are proceeding under a blanket grant of power. How far is Mr. Roosevelt prepared to back them up in the specific actions which cannot be construed as other than specific challenges to the industrial and social traditions of the national past? If the President throws the full weight of his prestige and leadership behind this TVA, then the projectors of this many-sided venture have a real chance to produce, on a scale to command imitation, a new order of life for this country. If, when the blasts of the coming battle blow hot, Mr. Roosevelt leaves the TVA to its own devices, the dream will fade and the region of the Tennessee valley will sink back into hopelessness. It is an issue which, before it is decided, may involve every citizen of the United States. And it is likely to present the President with one of the most —if not the most—fateful decisions he will ever make.

This is the concluding article in a series on the social and industrial implications of the Tennessee Valley authority.

BOOKS

Those Outrageous Beechers

SAINTS, SINNERS AND BEECHERS. *By Lyman Beecher Stowe. Bobbs-Merrill Company, $3.75.*

NO ONE has ever contested the honor which Theodore Parker ascribed to Lyman Beecher, of being "the father of more brains than any other man in America." Even though the brains which he sired were divided among eleven children, there was not one of them who did not have far more than an ordinary allotment. And not only brains but a certain drive which was partly the inner compulsion of a sense of responsibility for righting the world's wrongs and partly a zestful joy in living. The proportions varied in the different individuals of the clan, but there was tremendous vitality in every one of them. Six of the seven sons became ministers, and not one of them was just another preacher. Three of the four daughters rendered notable public service in an age when few women ventured upon any activities outside of the home. One son became the most famous of American preachers, and one daughter became the most famous and widely read American novelist. It must be granted that Lyman Beecher had quite a quiverful.

Going back a generation, Lyman Beecher's father, David Beecher, a learned New England blacksmith, is properly made the subject of the opening chapter. David was born in 1738, and Lyman's last surviving child lived until 1907. These thirteen people, whose lives span a period of almost two centuries, touched the religious and political history of America at an extraordinary number of vital points. Catharine was the founder of a school for girls, a pioneer in the education of women, and a lifelong worker in that cause. Edward was the first president of Illinois college and a friend and colleague of the murdered Lovejoy. Harriet wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and, according to Lincoln, brought on the civil war. Henry Ward—no need to tell what he did. Isabella was a militant suffragist. Thomas K., in some respects the most extraordinary and lovable of the lot, was the creator of what was probably the first institutional church in America. James was the colonel of a Negro regiment during the war, became a brigadier general, all the while serving also as chaplain, served as a pastor for several years, directed a slum mission in Brooklyn, became mentally disturbed and ended his own life.

The author, as a grandson of Harriet Beecher Stowe, has had access not only to the documentary materials which would have been accessible to any equally diligent student bent on writing a multiple biography of the Beechers but also to the oral tradition of the family. From the latter source he has enriched his narrative with a considerable amount of anecdotal matter. He has dealt frankly with the faults and frailties of his distinguished relatives and has not exaggerated their greatness. On the jacket he is made to say: "Were the Beechers good and great? I do not know. I do know they were amusing, lovable and outrageous." This scarcely represents his attitude. He writes as one who knows that they were both good and great, and who rates them as surprising and unconventional rather than outrageous.

I have no quarrel with his complete exoneration of Henry Ward Beecher for the serious charges that were brought against him, but I think he does scant justice to Tilton and Bowen. It can scarcely be true that Beecher decided that Tilton's mind was "unformed and unstable," and then immediately chose him to be acting editor of the Independent during his own absence in Europe. It is certainly not true that Tilton "exceeded all others in bitterness" when Beecher took his stand against the radical republican policy of reconstruction. Even though Beecher was innocent in the celebrated scandal, it is gratuitous to represent the whole thing as a conspiracy between Tilton and Bowen, with Bowen double-crossing his fellow conspirator.

The Beechers played an important part in liberating Ameri-

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can theology from the austerities of Calvinism. From this point of view, if there were no other, the fortunes of the family would be well worth following. Lyman Beecher began it—or perhaps his first wife began it for him. Certainly Catharine gave the impulse a powerful push by her resentment at the orthodox doubts of the salvation of her fiance, a young Yale professor, who was drowned at sea, and she was theologian enough to think the matter through and write a book about it, "Letters on the Difficulties of Religion." Henry Ward Beecher became, of course, the most influential advocate of a more liberal theology in his generation. Several of the others moved in the same direction. But perhaps the most surprising of all was Charles who, as far back as 1846, preached the dedication sermon for his little Presbyterian church in Fort Wayne, Indiana, on the subject "The Bible a Sufficient Creed," announced that he would not wear the theological "handcuffs" of any sect, and declared that "the Bible, the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible is the perfect and thorough furniture of the Christian minister and the Christian church." That certainly must have been considered outrageous, in 1846. Every Beecher was a Beecher, but every one was also a distinct and different personality.

W. E. GARRISON.

CORRESPONDENCE

Supreme Court Grants Hearing

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Since writing you some time ago about the Hamilton-Reynolds case and the work the "Committee Against Compulsory Military Training in Tax-Supported Schools" is doing to secure the rights of conscientious objectors, two things have happened. The supreme court of the state of California denied us an order for a hearing of an appeal before the federal supreme court. Then our attorney, Mr. John Beardsley, left for Washington and filed an application for such a hearing with the United States supreme court. A few days ago we received word that this application had been granted. That assures us that at last college students who refuse to take military drill on religious grounds will have a day in court.

Pacific Palisades, Calif. JOHN GABRIELSON.

Correcting Dr. Niebuhr

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Communists are sometimes accused of making inaccurate statements. But my attention has just been called to an article by Reinhold Niebuhr in The Christian Century of April 11, which contains four inaccuracies in three short sentences!

1. Since Mr. Niebuhr is on the World Tomorrow, I am surprised he does not know that I was never an editor of that journal. Anna Rochester (whose name, by the way, is Anna not Anne) was an editor of that paper during the years before Mr. Page took it over and made it a religious journal. I was in the business department during part of the same period.

2. Phillips Brooks would turn in his grave at the idea that Trinity church, Boston, the only parish where I was ever registered, was "Anglican of high church persuasion!"

3. The title of the book we wrote together was "Jesus Christ and the World Today," published in 1922.

4. We had both of us become convinced that religion was mere superstition—truly "the opium of the people"—and had stopped going to church three years before joining the communist party.

New York City GRACE HUTCHINS.

Checking Up on the M. E.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: One sometimes wonders how we can be so sure of medieval and ancient history when we can hardly keep the record straight of our own times. To take an example of the hurried way of contemporaneous writings, may I call attention to a statement of the managing editor of The Christian Century, when he writes in the issue of April 11: "So he came out to Yellow Springs and took over a decrepit little college that gloried in the fact that it had been founded by Horace Mann," etc. May I be permitted to call the attention of readers that the alleged "fact" is open to correction, in that Horace Mann did not found Antioch college. The "Christians," now merged with the Congregationalists, founded Antioch, and called to its presidency Horace Mann, a Unitarian in theology, who united with the Christian church at Yellow Springs, Ohio, of which my grandfather, Dr. Nicholas Summerbell, was the pastor.

This incident shows the unearned increment that great names naturally draw to themselves. Biblical literature illustrates. We do not know the author of the fourth gospel, John, but this unknown wrote magnificent words and sentiments attributing his own style to the brilliant carpenter of Nazareth. It is indeed true, that to him that hath shall be given! The hero takes away from the commoners even that which they ought to have. Do we not all fight for our favorites? A little question of fact is not so important, is it?

Tampa, Fla. CARLISLE SUMMERBELL.

Was the Legion Responsible?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Permit me to call attention to the fact that you have, in your editorial under date of April 11, made the same mistake that most of the other anti-legion papers and individuals have made. You may have been led into this mistake by Dr. Bowie, whose original statement I did not see. You refer to "the lobby of the American Legion which secured the passage of the bill through congress adding $228,000,000 a year to the veterans' pension bill." If you had read carefully the President's veto message you would have noted that he points out that $125,000,000 of this sum is for salaries of federal employes. That leaves only $103,000,000 for veterans—no meager sum, to be sure, but less than half the amount in dispute. The last minute compromises the President was willing to agree to would have reduced this amount in dispute by more than half.

Note, too, if you please, that the congressmen themselves benefit by this bill, in the restoration of the 5 per cent cut they took a year ago. Since when did a powerful lobby have to be brought into action in order to convince the congressmen that they were entitled to more pay?

Note also, please, that the federal employes benefitting by this bill greatly outnumber the veterans who may benefit. But I have heard nothing about any influence being brought to bear by these federal employes. Are they so disinterested, or has their lobby been less conspicuous? The legion seems to get all the credit, or blame, for the passage of this bill—this "raid on the treasury"—in spite of the fact that other strong lobbies were at work, notably the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Believe it or not, there are many of us in the legion who are trying to make the legion something bigger than a "bloc." We believe the President was right in his principle, courageously voiced at the legion convention last summer, that veterans are not entitled to compensation for disabilities having no connection with their war service. We want the legion to work for adequate social justice for all, regardless of race, color or previous condition of patriotism. Please don't make it harder for us by blaming the legion for all the partisan politics and lavish spending of this or any other administration. If you want the veterans to solidify into a class-conscious and selfish bloc, just keep on accusing them

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of being that, and they will try to live up to the description. But play fair with the veterans, discriminate between their selfish and their unselfish objectives, and you may help us considerably.

Congregational Church THOMAS A. GOODWIN.
Littleton, N. H.

The Teacher's Outlook on Public Ownership

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The real cause for concern, in Dr. Wirt's charges of revolutionary plotting by the brain trust, has been overlooked. His position, as superintendent of the Gary school system, is of greater importance than what he has said.

The Chicago Journal of Commerce for April 4, 1934, reveals the demands that business interests make upon such men in Dr. Wirt's position. The Journal, in opposing a professor who refuses to be the tool that Dr. Wirt has become, states: "Out in Iowa City, Iowa, where the college professors get their livelihood from the taxes paid by private business, there is one professor working night and day to eliminate the largest taxpayer in Iowa City, namely the I.C. Light and Power company." Then the question is asked: "Why should college professors try to eliminate private enterprise?"

It is interesting that a financial journal should openly admit its position, that so-called "private" or big business should be favored by our school system. That is what Dr. Wirt's position is, and our country is full of "Dr. Wirts." Through textbooks and class room teaching the youth of America is being conditioned in favor of big business.

Dr. Wirt's charges have been made a farce but he and his kind remain. There's a situation that is not so easily laughed off.

Chicago JOHN L. MIXON.

Toward a Program of Church Action

BECAUSE a too-hastily written sentence has given rise to a misapprehension as to Professor Holman's proposal with regard to the future missionary program of the churches, we gladly give our space this week to a letter from him. It should be recognized, however, that the very refusal to agree on a Christological formulation which Dr. Holman regards as inevitable will in itself precipitate various missionary decisions related to the field of Christology.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I had not intended to make any reply to the comments which have appeared on my article, "Missions Has a Nervous Breakdown," but rather to let the point of view justify itself or not, as might be the case, in the light of discussion. However, your remark in the current issue of The Christian Century to the effect that I believe that a "common agreement must be found in the field of Christology" is so far from representing my conviction that I am constrained to protest.

Indeed, the "repressed conflict" which I discussed, and to which I attributed the breakdown of missionary morale, is that which obtains between those, on the one hand, who formulate a Christology, and insist upon its acceptance as setting forth the *only* way of salvation, and those, on the other, who with equal earnestness seek the personal and social salvation of men, but believe that there is no exclusive way in which that salvation may be achieved. The first group inevitably emphasizes the making of converts. The second is little concerned about making converts, but "would put first the achievement of the values which our Christian faith in its best forms cherishes" and "would like to see the strength of missionary effort directed to those activities which have to do with the fundamental issues of social living."

I am distrustful of all efforts to achieve unity in the missionary enterprise by formulating a Christology, however "minimum" a form the statement may take. That was attempted without success in the famous Jerusalem message. So long as a Christology is given this central place we shall have charges against certain missionaries that they are "unsound in the faith," and the charges will, in many cases, be justified. We may as well remember that a good many missionaries have been recalled, not because of unconsecrated lives or inadequate service, but because of "unsound" theological views, and the recall of a great many more has been demanded by conservative groups. Often these missionaries were performing precisely the kinds of service which some of us think very much needed. How can a Christological "message" resolve that conflict? At best it can function only as an instrument of psychological repression.

Therefore, I say, bring the conflict out into the open and let us look at it together. Perhaps the conflict cannot be resolved, and it may prove impossible for us to cooperate. But I suspect that, when we consider our ultimate purposes, we shall find that they correspond much more closely than do our theological formulations. And for the accomplishment of those purposes, perhaps not only liberal and conservative Christians, but also Buddhists, Hindus, Confucianists and others can work earnestly together.

Chicago CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

The Question Box

I am not sure that the function of the Question Box includes such matters as good speech, but I am wondering what your feeling is regarding the use of "contact" as a verb. It appears to be a recent importation into the language, and while novelties are not unexpected in our all too hospitable tongue, some seem more appropriate than others, and this one strikes me as being among the worst. "Disturbed," Pittsburgh, Pa.

MY first "contact" with this barbarous use of a perfectly respectable word was in conversation with a traveling man on a train. I was sure that in the noise of the road I had misunderstood him. But when he repeated it later my spirits sank, for he had the air of one who should have known better. Since then I have heard it several times, and have even seen it in newspapers that usually adhere to standards of good taste.

I have, as I suppose most people have, a sort of *index expurgatorius* of words that I do not like to hear mispronounced, or employed in ungrammatical constructions, or of expressions that are worn to triteness by constant use. Examples come crowding to mind. I do not like to hear the invaluable word "program" pronounced as if it were spelled "progrum." That seems to degrade it to the level of slipshod and sloppy speech.

I wish that the expression "along this line" could be put in the cannery and securely sealed. It seems to suggest poverty of imagination on the part of public speakers, and is almost as commonplace as "and so forth," which is generally a sign that a speaker has come to the end of an idea, and is hunting for the next one.

I should be glad to bid farewell forever to the terribly threadbare expression "far flung." I imagine that if Kipling had dreamed of the spendthrift use that was to be made of that rather inappropriate but highly colorful phrase he would never have written the "Recessional," or would have found a term less likely to be victimized by merciless imitators. For after all one does not "fling" battle lines, or markets, or missions, or any of the objects or interests which are so freely "flung" about by the unwary who are caught by the lure of a purple idiom.

But of all the linguistic sins which blundering users of the king's English commit, I give the front rank to this one of "contacting." If it ever attains the recognition which honorable speech enjoys, I shall have to endure it as one would suffer a wooden leg or a glass eye. But I hope to have acquired the language of heaven before that ill-omened day arrives. I am fortified in this aversion by a remark dropped by one whose literary experience and authority are unquestioned. "Contact as a verb is one of the most atrocious abortions of present day colloquial speech. I know no way to prevent its growth except instantly to cease communication with any one who uses it in speech or writing."

I have not cut the acquaintance of anybody yet on this ground, but I feel like endorsing the words of good old Polonius, "That's an ill phrase, a vile phrase." H. L. W.

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NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Students Strike Against War

R.O.T.C. Hit by New York Objectors—Mayor Answers Critics—Churches to Observe Brotherhood Day

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, April 14.—Yesterday's nationwide student strike against war was rather impressive in this city. It is estimated that at least 15,000 students took part here and the publicity received was exceptionally good. Students carried placards with such slogans as "Strike Against War," "Abolish the R.O.T.C." and "Schools Not Battleships." Many police were on duty at our local colleges but there was little disorder except at City college where the administration seems to have special aptitude for annoying the student body. At Hunter college several hundred students adopted a resolution censuring the president, Eugene A. Colligan, for his lack of cooperation in the student strike and "especially his attempt to call a halt to an anti-war convention at Hunter college on mere technicalities." A few students were arrested in clashes with the police in parades held the night before the strike. It is most heartening to find such evidence of awareness of the war issue on the part of the young men and women now in college. Too much cannot be done now to mobilize the anti-war sentiment of this country.

* * *

Mayor Strikes Back At Critics

The grand jury this past week censured the city administration and the police for the handling of the recent taxicab strike. In fact it looked as if some of the mayor's foes thought that this gave them just the handle they were looking for. But the mayor in an admirable statement has struck back vigorously, making it perfectly clear that the workers have rights which are to be respected by elected officials just as much as employers. He repudiates the suggestion of the grand jury that "all assemblages of workers be confined to certain localities and that no permits for marching, except to and from such localities be issued." Replying he says: "The workers have as much right to assemble in any hall or in any place in the city of New York as any other group of people." Moreover he points out that the strike could easily have been settled had it not been for "the unrelenting and cruel attitude of two of the large operators."

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Churches Will Observe Brotherhood Day

The National Conference of Jews and Christians with offices here has designated Sunday, April 29, as "Brotherhood day" at which time it is hoped that our churches will make every effort to stress the need for understanding among the various racial and religious groups in our country. A feature of the observance of the day will be the distribution of a card entitled, "A declaration of brotherhood," which reads: "I intend to do unto others, of whatever race or creed, as I would have them do to me. It is my purpose to respect the rights of human beings, and to judge each fellowman on his individual merits alone. I will oppose every organized effort to evoke fear or hatred of any religious or racial group." The appeal for the observance of this day has the endorsement of outstanding Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders.

* * *

Presbytery Chooses Commissioners

At its meeting last Monday the New York presbytery balloted for its representatives to the general assembly to be held the last week of May at Cleveland. The following ministers were elected: Rev. William Lloyd Imes, Rev. John H. Elliott, Rev. Roswell P. Barnes, Rev. Edmund B. Chaffee, Rev. Walter David Knight, Rev. Robert W. Searle, Rev. Ladislaus Harsanyi and Rev. Walter Carl Subke. Among the lay commissioners selected was Dr. John H. Finley, editor of the New York Times. Rev. Daniel Russell was reelected as moderator of the presbytery.

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Churches to Get Lower Lighting Rates

Through the efforts of a committee of our federation of churches, cooperating with a similar committee from the Bronx clergy association, lower electricity rates for the smaller churches in the metropolitan area have been secured. A bill has passed both houses of the legislature and has been signed by the governor adjusting the old inequality of lighting rates by which it is estimated that nearly $100,000 will be saved by the churches in this city. Dr. Frederick B. Newell and Rev. Otto Land have been largely responsible for bringing about this result.

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Death of Principal Margaret Knox

Miss Margaret Knox, principal of Public School Number 15 since 1901, died last week. She was a director of the Protestant Teachers association and of the council of religious education of the federation of churches of this city. She was widely known too for her community work on the east side. She will be sorely missed by a large circle of friends.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Conference to Consider Radio as Cultural Agency

"The Use of Radio as a Cultural Agency in a Democracy" is the subject of a conference announced for May 7, 8 in Washington, D. C. Called by the National committee on education by radio, organized in 1930, the conference will bring together representatives of nine large educational groups, including the National association of state universities, the National Education association, the National Catholic educational association, the American council on education and others. The chairman of the committee is Dr. Joy Elmer Morgan, editor of the Journal of the National Education association.

Methodists of South to Meet

Tense Sessions Promised—Will Discuss Ordination of Women—New Deal Provokes Much Controversy

(Correspondence from the New South)

NASHVILLE, April 12.—Religious interest in the south will center in Jackson, Miss., with the meeting of the quadrennial general conference of the Methodist church, south, there on April 26. Because of limitation of funds it is hoped by the leaders that the session will be short, but the depression has brought problems that may make the sessions unusually tense. The various boards will have encouraging reports for these times. The publishing house will report profits of nearly a half million, with more than $300,000 paid to the superannuate fund. The foreign mission board will be able to report only a dozen missionaries withdrawn and four institutions closed. The new united board of education will report notable savings through removal of duplications and a strengthening of their work through coordination.

There has been some sentiment urging the reduction in the number of boards and secretaries, just as there has been for the enlarging of districts for presiding elders with a corresponding reduction in the number of those functionaries, and for allowing the five vacated bishoprics to remain vacant. The presiding eldership is perhaps the most important link in the Methodist connectional system, though of course the question of bishops excites the greater popular interest. There will be five vacancies in the college of bishops, hitherto numbering 16. Two vacancies were caused by death and three will be caused by the retirement of Bishops Denny, DuBose and Candler. There will probably be a compromise by the election of two or three new bishops. The three retiring ecclesiastics are among the most conservative in the college and the question of more interest to many than that of the number to be elected will be that of the quality. Will men like the able and progressive young Paul Kern, elected four years ago, be elevated or will the most successful church managers and promotional experts get the plums?

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Ordination of Women Will Be Discussed

One of the questions promising warm discussion again in this conference, as in that of four years ago, is that of the rights of women to ordination to the ministry and to an increase in their number on the general boards. Of the 466 delegates only 33 are women, and of the 235 alternates 25 are women. Their petition will be presented in more diplomatic form at this conference than at the last. Four years ago they asked that "faithful, called, prepared women" be granted the rights of the clergy "on the same basis as faithful, prepared, called men"; this year they will simply

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ask a vote on the question, "Shall lay members be eligible to the offices of the church without regard to sex?" The proposal must obtain a two-thirds majority, then be submitted to the district conferences for approval. Many who might vote against having a woman for their own pastor feel that the womanhood of the church have won by their works all the legal rights that belong to the men; thus there is a strong feeling that the question should go to the local conferences for decision.

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New Deal Provokes Controversy

The NRA and the AAA are begetting their full quota of controversy in the south. It ranges all the way from a reactionary wail that communists, the A. F. of L. and northern competitors are united in an effort to strangle the south, to a more or less logical argument that wage and freight differentials need revising to give this section an even break in the national economy. The Alabama coal miners won a strike of four weeks and went back to work only to be faced with a shutdown, then with an injunction by a federal judge holding up General Johnson's order that the wage differential be narrowed. The operators claim that their mines are thin-veined and that the most expert miners cannot mine more than two-thirds the tonnage that their competitors can mine per man-day. Many mine and mill operators boldly assert that southern labor is not as efficient as northern and a professor of economics at Birmingham southern college argues that, having just come from the farm, it is illogical to expect them to be. Of course the majority of them have been off the farm quite long enough to acquire all the skill they are capable of acquiring. Arthur Morgan, chairman of the TVA, finds the southern worker just as efficient as any, as do many other observers and employers.

There are many threats of moving mills north and beneath the surface there is a grumbling determination on the part of some to "beat the game," but the experience of textiles is too markedly one of success under the code for minor industries to greatly affect the scene. No section of the land has profited so much under the new deal as has the south and no single commodity so much as cotton.

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Negro Bishop Honored

The 100th birthday of Bishop Isaac Lane, founder of Lane College for Negroes at Jackson, Tenn., and doubtless the oldest living bishop in any church, was recently celebrated by whites and colored alike. He began to preach while yet a slave and, denied schooling, educated himself and became the leading educator of the Colored Methodist church.

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And So Forth

Gutzon Borglum is resuming work on the Stone mountain memorial with the help of a CWA grant. The carving of the head of Robert E. Lee will be greatly enlarged as will that of other confederate heroes.

An organized group of physicians in Tennessee are attempting to force a reorganization of the state health department. Dr. Bishop, the state health officer, has been commended by national social and preventive medicine agencies as one of the outstanding health officials of the nation. His department regularly receives grants from such organizations. His opponents are largely those doctors who also oppose socialized medicine. Four thousand CWA workers have been working, under his supervision, on malaria control.

Texas has prohibited the sale of machine guns to any but peace authorities.

Harrison Kroll's "Cabin in the Cotton" has been filmed in Russia.

Chattanooga has experimented now for a year with a driver's license law. Accidents have been reduced by 50 per cent. Nashville is following suit and other southern cities will doubtless do so. South Carolina has been taking licenses away from intoxicated drivers at the rate of four per day.

Memphis yields the record on homicides in 1932 to Lexington, Ky., and takes third place, while Little Rock steps up to second place with Birmingham, Atlanta and Jacksonville, Fla., following in order. The south still holds the record for the even dozen cities with the worst records. Studies of the situation reveal that while there is a close correlation between Negro population and high homicide rates, the true source of the pathology is not color but illiteracy.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

National Chautauqua Goes Into Receivership

The Chautauqua institution, at Chautauqua, N. Y., which has been in danger of disbanding owing to financial difficulties, has been saved from extinction by a friendly receivership, according to Arthur E. Bestor, its president. An elaborate program has been planned for the sessions this year.

What First?

Does any property, commodity, service or investment, tangible or intangible, more clearly deserve a place at the head of your "recovery program" than does Life Insurance? The one supremely dependable resource of these trying years, it has richly justified and repaid the faith of the American people. Why not put FIRST the security for your family and the assured comfort for your own sunset years which are guaranteed by a well-selected Endowment policy? With "most sound insurance per dollar of cost," the old reliable Ministers Life and Casualty Union is at your service. Address 16th Floor, Wesley Temple Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.

Dr. R. F. Horton Dies in Sleep

Famous Minister of Hampstead Once Delivered Yale Lectures—Surplus in Government Treasury

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, April 3.—The chancellor has a surplus on the last year's accounts of £31,148,000. This must be compared with a deficit of the previous year's accounts of £32,279,000. The surplus according to law must go to the debt redemption fund, but the chancellor may ask for power to use part of it for the reduction of the debt on the unemployment fund. The question remains to be answered what estimates he will make for the coming year 1934-1935. It is upon these estimates the further question will be answered whether or not the chancellor will restore the "cuts" or reduce the income tax or do both these things or neither. How the revenue is raised may be of interest to American readers: £228,000,000 income tax, £52,000,000 surtax; customs and excise £289,000,000. Estate duties, by which is meant the tax upon fortunes left by the dead, realized £85,000,000. The total figures were revenue £724,567,000 and expenditure £693,419,000.

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The Passing of Dr. R. F. Horton

On Friday my dear friend, Dr. Horton, died in his sleep. "To cease upon the midnight with no pain," and that the midnight of the day upon which the death of his Redeemer had been remembered, would have seemed to him a death to be desired. He was 78 years of age; 50 of those years were spent in one church, Lyndhurst road, Hampstead. For ten of those years, 1909 to 1919, I was with him and learned to know and to love him. In the church life of this country he filled a place of his own. An Oxford scholar, president of the union, oarsman in the New College boat, elected fellow and tutor of his college—he might have remained in the realm of scholarship and been in time perhaps the head of his college. But the call came to him to preach and he came to Hampstead and there he lived to the end. His church became very large and powerful; "to hear Horton" was one of the joys of a visit to London. Early in his life he became an advocate of the critical method of studying the scriptures and as such he met with many attacks. But in the end even his fiercest critics recognized that Dr. Horton was a man with but one great desire, to preach Christ to men. In this ministry he visited America more than once. Yale was the first university after his own to give him its honors. There he delivered his lectures on preaching, "Verbum Dei" and he was always proud of his Yale doctorate. A Boston writer said Dr. Horton was a Matthew Arnold turned Salvation army captain!

For me the memory of my friend is very precious. I was with him ten years and not a cloud shadowed that fellowship, not a hard word ever came from him. It is a joy to remember those days. Only a few days ago I was with him; he was speaking of his faith in the truth that "Christ bore our sins in his body on the tree"; he had spent much thought upon the theories of the atonement and none of them seemed sufficient to him but the reality of his faith in Christ crucified had never been so firm. There are many of us who gratefully confess that life would have been poorer for us if we had never known Robert Forman Horton.

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After Easter

The coming of Easter seems to call for some estimate of the place which religion has in this land. So far as the observance of Holy week and Easter is concerned, it does not greatly vary. Probably there are more churches than ever which keep the three hours' service on Good Friday. It is not counted strange, though it is welcome, to find an editorial in the Times with words in it like these:

"All of love that our Lord was on Calvary he is today and forever; the story of the cross discloses the eternal and changeless character of God. . . . The love shown on Good Friday is the love that is ever about the paths of men, to rescue them from their follies, to guide them through all the changes of this life and to welcome them home at the last."

A little before Easter Mr. Beverley Nichols, a writer of great and justly earned popularity, was speaking on the radio on a Saturday night. He was giving an account of the week as it had come to him and he ended by giving his hearers the earnest advice to go to church on the morrow. At the same time Canon F. R. Barry, a thinker and writer of great influence, has recently said to us:

"The church as we know it in England is already a predominantly middle-aged society; it looks as though it must face a declining membership—its death rate far exceeding its birth rate—and must be so long as it lasts, the refuge for the least adventurous elements in religion."

There are many facts to be taken into account; such men of the rebel strain as Mr. Beverley Nichols are being driven back to the Christian faith but within the church there is too much of the defeatist spirit. If only the people who heard the author of "Cry, Havoc" bid them go to church would go and those within the church would welcome them!

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And So Forth

The teachers assembled for their Easter conferences have declared strongly their condemnation of "colored shirts"; and their belief that the school age should be raised to 15 if not to 16.

Mr. Priestley has written a book, "English Journey," which should open the eyes of its readers to the tragedy of unemployment as it is seen in the north. It is a fine thing that this popular and gifted writer should take the side of the dwellers in the industrial north. He himself came from the north and he has not forgotten its people.

Mr. John Buchan is writing upon Cromwell; after the recent critical treatment of the protector by Mr. Belloc and others it is refreshing to read Mr. Buchan's serious study of the man as we used to think of him when we read Carlyle and Morley and Frederic Harrison.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Priest Directs Allotment Plan

Colony in Iowa Coal Town Aided by Government—City Forum Attracts Large Audiences

(Correspondence from Iowa)

DES MOINES, April 11.—An interesting experiment is under way at Granger where under the leadership of Father Luigi Ligutti the government has made a homestead allotment of $100,000. While this has been chiefly sponsored by Father Ligutti, it is a community enterprise, and will be administered by a local board of five members. The other four members of this board are Protestants. The plan is to provide homes for 50 families in this soft coal mining district, where labor in the mines is irregular, and never on full time. An arrangement has been made whereby land can be secured at $100 an acre. Each homestead will comprise five acres. The estimated cost of cottages is $1,200 each. Such servicing cost as sewerage, water supply, etc., will bring the cost up to $2,000. Granger is a small village of a few hundred, about 25 miles from Des Moines. Two or three mining camps are near, bringing the population up toward 1,000. Father Ligutti, a young priest of the community, is much beloved and has the full confidence of all the people.

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Plan Now for Next Year's Convocation

Already the program for the next annual convocation of ministers is getting into shape. The convocation will meet at Des Moines Jan. 14 and 15, and one of the principal speakers will be President Albert W. Beaven, of the Colgate-Rochester divinity school. Dr. Nelson P. Horn, director of religious life at Iowa State college, at Ames, will act as the convocation chaplain. The president of the convocation is Dr. Silas D. Hough, pastor of the First Baptist church at Sioux City.

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Carnegie Fund Supports Des Moines Forum

The second season of public forums has come to a conclusion. This is an experiment in adult education, the only one of the kind in the United States. Two years ago, the Carnegie corporation of New York allocated the sum of $120,000 to Des Moines to carry out a five-year program of forums discussing civic and political matters. Des Moines was chosen for a number of reasons, among them the general excellence of its public school system; the interest of the superintendent of schools, J. W. Studebaker, in adult education; and the fact that Des Moines is a rather typical American city, neither too large nor too small. The program of public forums, held in various school auditoriums of the city, was begun in January, 1933, and the attendance for the first four months was something over 48,000. The total attendance to date is over 100,000. It is estimated that 17 per cent of the city's population have attended some of these gatherings. The program has brought to the city about 35 forum leaders, among them some

men quite outstanding in public life. The experiment is to determine whether such a program can be so carried out as to really leaven a community with civic and political information. Considering the natural intellectual inertia of vast numbers of people, the experiment seems to point to a considerable degree of success. This experiment is being watched by educational leaders far and wide, and will continue to be watched as the movement gathers second wind in the remaining three years of its program.

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Many Conventions On Calendar

A number of meetings of significance are scheduled for the near future—the state Christian Endeavor convention at Cedar Rapids June 8-10; the sixty-ninth annual state Sunday school convention at Ottumwa, April 25-27; the state convention of the Disciples of Christ at Oskaloosa, June 10-13, with Dr. W. F. Rothenburger, of Indianapolis, president of that denomination's international convention, as headline speaker. Next October, the international convention of the Disciples of Christ meets in Des Moines, from the 16th to the 21st. Dr. Floyd Allan Bash, pastor of the Central Church of Christ of this city, is general chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

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International Relations At Grinnell

The third annual international relations conference was held at Grinnell college last week, with an attendance of about 300 students from Iowa and neighboring states. The strong program featured such leaders as Sherwood Eddy, Raymond Leslie Buell, Otto Nathan, Clark Eichelberger, and Alden G. Alley.

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Hold Teacher Training Institute

For 25 years without interruption, Des Moines has carried on a training institute for Sunday school workers. There is a fall and a winter semester, with institute sessions one night a week for ten weeks each. The enrolment for the fall semester, always the larger, was over 200. The winter semester enrolled 122. The closing graduation program was on March 13, at which an address was given by Bishop William F. McDowell.

WARREN C. TAYLOR.

"Venture in Understanding" Launched in Chicago

The Committee on Community Cooperation, Dr. J. R. Hargreaves secretary, reports that a "venture in understanding" is now being launched in Chicago, with the cooperation of the superintendents subcommittee on character education. An attempt will be made to relate Protestant, Jew and Catholic in an endeavor to make a common approach to the problem. The committee on cooperation has had notable success in its efforts in South Dakota. Last month at the annual meeting of the state committee 22 organizations professing interest in the moral and spiritual development of youth were represented. Excellent results of the committee's work are also reported from Minnesota, especially from Minneapolis.

Mussolini's Talk Frightens Turkey

But Press Receives Word of Italian Ambitions in Asia Calmly—To Further Sex Equality

(Correspondence from the Near East)

ISTANBUL, April 3.—If there is a country, next to France, in which Signor Mussolini's sensational speech has been deeply resented, that country is Turkey. The reference to Italian aspirations in Asia has not been pleasing to the Turkish ear, and the assurance that they do not imply any territorial aims has reminded the Turks too much of the phraseology formerly connected with the partition of Turkey into zones of influence. Yet, as has always been the case with regard to Italian ambitions in the east, Turkish reaction has not been explosive, but the general tone of the press comments has been very serious. Regarding Turco-Italian relations, there is a sort of feeling in the press that this question ought to remain strictly the province of the government.

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To Remove Last Barrier Between Sexes

What is probably the last vestige of the separation of sexes in Turkey will disappear when the Istanbul municipality has given definite expression to the wish recently moved that the two rows of seats reserved to women in tramcars should be abolished. Originally, the assignment of special seats to Turkish women on ships as well as in railways aimed at the seclusion of Mussulman women from the other sex. In tramcars, for instance, the two first rows were separated from the rest by means of heavy curtains through which furtive glances would dart both ways. After the reform, this separation lost its raison d'etre and was suppressed both on ships and railways, but has been allowed to go on in tramcars, the curtains only being removed. Thus it has become a sort of privilege, which is felt to be inconsistent with the situation as it is now, when feminine competition asserts itself in all branches of profitable activity, and Turkish women occupy high positions even in professions usually reserved to men, like the police.

* * *

Greek Republic 10 Years Old

Last week, Greece celebrated with great pomp the tenth anniversary of the republic founded in 1924 after the dramatic events of 1923. The parliament vote which then established the Greek republic was unanimous. It had, however, to be ratified by the nation which, far from evincing the same unanimity, by 325,322 votes against 758,742 manifested its opposition to the new form of government. Political strife since then has reflected the antagonism between royalists and republicans. Political passion, of course, is at the root of the Greek character and might have centered upon any other issue as well.

General Metaxas, who is the Greek war minister and a prominent political leader, is expected at Ankara very soon, where Mr. Jevtich, Yugo-Slavian foreign minis-

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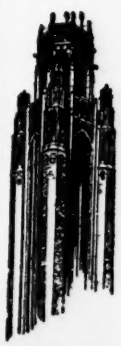

Bulletin now available telling of courses and faculty at joint Summer Sessions of The Chicago Theological Seminary and the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, June 18-July 20, and July 23-August 24. Special courses for Y.W.C.A. secretaries, religious workers with students, and ministers of rural and urban churches.

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ter, is also very likely to arrive. The dominant feature in the peninsula thus remains the Balkan pact, and its consequences.

* * *

Formulate New Marriage Law for Greece

The Greek government is preparing a new marriage law, the provisions of which are the subject of much discussion. Paragraph 46 of this bill requires husband and wife to lead a common life, by which the legislator wishes to express the rule that the life they are expected to lead with respect to each other shall correspond to the moral substance of marriage. But this obligation must cease when the demand for cohabitation represents a misuse of rights, for instance, when this demand emanates from a husband who is not in a position to care for his wife; also when one of them has grievances which would represent a sufficient cause of divorce, or when cohabitation is likely to injure the health, the reputation or the business of the party from whom it is asked. Although the control of the family is explicitly placed in the hands of the husband, the bill preserves the wife's rights in cases when the husband's decision constitutes a misuse of rights or manifestly opposes the interests of the family or if it is not in harmony with the wife's moral and material cooperation.

* * *

Palestinian Trade Is Growing

Considerable interest is focused on the third international Levant fair to be held at Tel-Aviv. The first, held in 1929, occupied an area of 26,000 square meters and was attended by 120,000 visitors. In 1932 the area had grown to 50,000 square meters and the number of visitors had increased to 300,000, while this year's fair, from April 26 to May 26, is to extend over double that space. The hope is entertained that it will greatly exceed all previous fairs in commercial scope, and manufacturers in a good many countries seem to look upon the Palestinian market as a powerful and healthy buyer of foreign goods. Twenty-five countries have accorded traveling facilities to fair visitors who hold permanent entrance tickets.

* * *

Echoes of the Insull Odyssey

When the Samuel Insull affair is over, as regards Turkey, foreign press correspondents resident in this town will be entitled to some rest. Especially those who have telegraphic service to perform are having every minute in the day marred by the notion that something may happen, while they have their luncheon, or are taking a few hours' sleep.

E. Gueron.

Free Church Fellowship Elects Officers

At a meeting of the Free Church fellowship held in Boston April 11, Louis C. Cornish, head of the American Unitarian association, was elected president; Dwight Bradley and Victor A. Friend are vice-presidents, and Roger F. Etz, secretary of the Universalist general convention, secretary. The Free Church fellowship is "a voluntary federation of denominations, churches and individuals for the advancement of human wellbeing through the offices of a free and liberal church."

Northwest Would Purge Theaters

"Investigations" in Spokane, Seattle—"Reds," War Protestants, Provoke Riots—Colleges Organize

(Correspondence from the Northwest)

Seattle, April 12.—Morals committees representing various interests have been active in Spokane and Seattle in an attempt to clean up questionable theaters. As is usually the case, theater men welcome such "investigations" in view of the large amount of free publicity received for their shows. In Seattle three questionable show houses were able to gain an extension of grace pending the adoption of a new "morals code." Their main plea was to the effect that 40 girls would be thrown out of employment if the business were closed. One clergyman joined with the theater men in their request for another chance. For years past this same routine has enabled immoral shows to build a bigger business.

* * *

Educational "Radicals" Frighten Northwest

"Educator brands Legion and D.A.R. dangerous," according to a front page headline in the Spokesman-Review when that paper reported the speech of Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn before the Inland Empire Educational association meeting in Spokane. Dr. J. W. Hart, professor of education at the University of California, declared: "In America we pay more to our bartenders than to our teachers." Following last year's district meeting of educators in Spokane there was talk of protesting their coming again in the city in view of "radical" tendencies. The newspaper quoted above, which is one of the able papers in the west, has stood at one and the same time for "less liquor and more armaments."

* * *

Progressive Jew Honored In Seattle

Alfred Shemanski, leading merchant of the Pacific northwest, who came to America as an immigrant boy 40 years ago, has been reelected president of the Seattle community fund for the third consecutive term. This organization has been quite successful in making provision for 43 agencies. Mr. Shemanski is the only Jewish regent at the University of Washington. He is a leader in morally progressive movements.

* * *

Independent Liberal Colleges Organize

In an effort to protect the interests of the non-tax-supported liberal arts college, representatives of 14 such institutions met in Spokane last week and organized the Western Association of Independent colleges. Forty small colleges on the Pacific coast are eligible for membership. Land grant colleges, it was stated, were originally founded for the purpose of teaching mechanic and agricultural arts but have gradually invaded the liberal arts field until now they are devoting 65 per cent of the academic schedule to liberal arts and but 34 per cent to agricultural and mechanical pursuits. Some of the educators explained that this ratio should be the other way around, thus leaving the liberal arts field more largely to independent colleges. Dr. Ward W. Sullivan, president of Whitworth college, was elected president of the new organization.

* * *

Anti-War Murals Scare Seattle Papers

When an art class at Pilgrim Congregational church, Seattle, decorated the walls of a small Sunday school room with murals attacking war and race hatred, the whole world heard the story. Flaming headlines in the local papers told of paintings which depict a Jew nailed to a Hitler swastika, of the lynching of a Negro, a farmer plowing under his crops and the armament interests gambling with the lives of the world's youth. Rev. Fred W. Shorter, pastor of the church for seven years, has been active in the anti-war crusade and in efforts to attain social justice.

* * *

Army Day Marked By Rioting

Rioting brought to a close the observance of Army day in Seattle. Military parades were interrupted by anti-war demonstrators. Placards and cards protesting increase in armaments were used quite generally by organizations which probably also included some communists. Men in American Legion uniforms clubbed down protestants, including some innocent bystanders. University students were among the young people jailed on a disorderly conduct charge.

* * *

And So Forth

The University district Y.M.C.A. of Seattle has elected Sidney Spear, assistant dean of men at the university, to a place on its board of directors. This is the first time in the city that a member of the Jewish community has been elected to such a position.

With nearly 7,000 students enrolled for the spring quarter, the University of Washington has set a new record and is faced with a serious problem of overloaded professors and a curtailed budget. The following three reasons have been advanced for the large attendance: the psychological effect of good times returning; a realization that more training is needed to get a job; and a return to the local school of those who used to have enough money to go east for an education.

A bequest from the estate of Caroline A. Kamm, pioneer resident of Portland, enables the Y.W.C.A. to proceed with the erection of an apartment building to cost $34,000.

Dr. F. Scott McBride, general superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America, has just closed a week of mass meetings and conferences in Oregon and Washington. Large crowds were in attendance. The interest and financial support is rapidly rising. The Oregon meetings featured, in addition to Dr. McBride, Dean U. G. Dubach of the State college at Corvallis, Bishop Titus Lowe of the Methodist church, ex-Governor Oswald West and Charles Haffke, newly elected state superintendent of the league.

E. A. Fridell.

Socialists Now Control Glasgow

Seek More Funds for Poor; Less Strict Sabbath Observance—Row Over Woman Minister Continues

(Correspondence from Scotland)

WHITLEY BAY, April 2.—The new socialist regime in the Glasgow town council has shown two definite trends. The first has of course been toward greater relief benefits for the poor, in accordance with election pledges. As a matter of winter relief, the weekly rate for a single adult and for a married couple has been increased by 1s 6d, and for each child by 1s, but while this scale has been promised only through April, nobody expects it will not continue indefinitely. Then the scale for the sick poor has been increased, the "means test" has been modified in the case of illness, free school books have been promised to pupils and there is to be a home for the aged poor. The cost of these reforms is estimated at £615,000, which means an increase of municipal taxation of almost 10 per cent in a city already heavily taxed and already staggering under a decade of industrial depression. The difficulty of a community bearing the major part of the cost of its own unemployment is thus emphasized. No new industries will come to Glasgow as it is, with the heavy taxation—and the higher the rate, the less the likelihood. The new factories and the prosperous modern industries are all being established in the south of England where the unemployment is light and the municipal taxation is unburdensome. The poor in the depressed areas, therefore, grow more poor and need a higher rate of relief than those in a busy area where unemployment is usually a matter of weeks or months rather than years; and yet the city where poverty is worst is least able to ameliorate the loss of its own unfortunate.

* * *

Close Division on Sunday Sports

The other socialist trend has been toward secularization. The parks committee brought in a strong recommendation for the opening of public golf courses, tennis courts, and bowling greens on Sundays, pleading that this was mere amplification of the former non-socialist policy of Sunday band concerts in the parks, the Sunday opening of the art galleries and of the children's playgrounds. A lively discussion in which there were many participants and a narrow vote was the result. The opposition to Sunday opening was led by Miss Violet Roberton. She admitted that the present generation was snatching at freedom, following an overstrict observance of the sabbath in the past, but she held there was no public demand for this particular extension of recreational facilities and that it was their duty as public administrators to await a declaration from the majority of the citizens before they countenanced such an innovation. She charged certain of the socialist party with setting themselves against tradition, historical and sacred, and said that the effect of their activity if successful would be to outrage the feelings of a large number of citizens. From her experience overseas she was aware that many of their fellows in other lands looked to Scotland to maintain the Sunday standards that were forgotten in so many communities today.

Mr. Ratcliffe, of the Protestant league, pointed out the inconsistency of the council's authorizing the ten commandments to be taught in the schools and to be broken in the parks. Bailie Gray urged that this was a further drive of the wedge toward Sunday football, dog racing, cinemas—the opening of a sluice that would let everything through; that it would be a bad day when they abandoned the old motto, "Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the Word" and substituted, "Let Glasgow flourish by the playing of Sunday games." The vote was 40 to 37 *against* Sunday opening, with 4 abstentions from voting, every socialist present except one favoring the innovation.

* * *

Controversy Rages Over Women Ministers

The controversy about woman ministers is still raging merrily. Rev. Vera Kenmure refused to reconsider her resignation as pastor of Partick Congregational church, in spite of the majority in her congregation requesting her to do so; rather, the vote being close, she shortened her term of office and closed her ministry there on March 25, having preached to a crowded church all month. It has since been announced that the Central hall in Glasgow has been engaged, and that as an experiment she will conduct services there, commencing next Sunday. About 50 members of her former congregation have seceded (a number which may eventually be doubled); these will be the nucleus of the new worshiping unit. The newspapers have been deluged with letters pro and con. The three chief arguments now brought forward are (1) the *disruptive* force that women pastors can become (witness the dissension in Mrs. Findlay's church), and (2) the isolation in its orders of any church which opens its ministry to women from all the older conservative denominations, and (3) that motherhood being a full time calling, it is as illogical to expect to combine it with the pastorate as it would be for a physician to try to practice law and medicine at once.

* * *

McNeill Biography Given Warm Welcome

Alexander Gammie's biography of Dr. John McNeill has taken extraordinarily well. Mr. Gammie is the religious editor of the Glasgow Evening Citizen. Every Saturday he has a religious page which is read by thousands of church people. I don't know any daily newspaper anywhere which furnishes its readers each week with so interesting a church page. He has a gift for analyzing and delineating character, which he regularly uses in "ministerial miniatures" which he supplies to the Scottish edition of the British Weekly. He has written "lives" of Dr. John White and Dr. George Morrison, but John McNeil was so much more striking and more world-known a figure, that this book has evoked much greater interest. Mr. Lloyd George writes that he picked up the book to have a glance through it and found it so interesting that he could not lay it down till he had gone right on to the very end. The biography is not an uncritical laudation, but has balance and discrimination as well as enthusiasm and admiration. It closes with two rich chapters entitled "Humor" and "McNeilliana," which portray the exuberant originality of the far-traveled Scotch evangelist.

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Church Must Help Build New World

Denominational Machinery Must be Reorganized, Says Dr. Holt—Urge Unity in Temperance Efforts

(Correspondence from New England)

SOMERVILLE, Mass., April 14.—Congregationalists, like the Baptists as reported in our last letter, are asking how the churches may bring their impact to bear upon society. On April 12, Dr. Arthur E. Holt, chairman of the commission on social relations of the General council, met two groups of leaders, from Connecticut at New Haven in the evening, and from the other five states at Boston in the afternoon. Outlining the situation, he held that the four centuries of separation and specialization, which began with the reformation, are ending. We are now moving back to an organized society. The state cannot ignore the church. In Russia, the state seeks to abolish it: in Germany, to control it. In the United States the government, building a model community at Norris, Tenn., must face the question: What of its church? The supreme court has decided that duty to God is subordinate to duty to the nation. Our churches have been organized to help those who climb. We must now consider those left behind. Training people to want what they should, we must also help build communities which will give them what they should want. The denominational machinery, developed during the period of disestablishment, must be reorganized to meet the conditions of the new age.

* * *

Some Difficulties Faced

But how? Discussion brought out the difficulties. There are laymen, often large givers, who dismiss the pastor who preaches on "a living wage." "Regional committees" which take up such questions are called "illegitimate." A pastor of a wealthy church replied: Financial supporters are not the best! We must not compromise to hold them lest the churches, already secularized, lose all their significance. Another contrasted "idealists," who get too far ahead, with "realists," like Lincoln, who kept one step ahead of the people. Others answered: The church must be the vanguard, not the "rear-guard." You underestimate the laymen! They may not agree, but they respect leaders. They will agree to investigation of social problems. They respond to denominational utterances. The young people, criticizing the churches for inaction, are surprised and won by learning what the Federal council, for instance, is doing.

There was agreement that the denominational machinery for "social relations" must be improved. Instead of being left to committees without income, depending on the generosity of the Education society, it should be recognized as a department coordinate with missions, education and evangelism, carrying all the "authority" which Congregational-Christian churches can give to their official representatives. Steps were taken to bring this opinion before the state conferences and the coming General council at Oberlin.

* * *

Temperance Forces Also Face Reorganization

On Apr. 3 the church bells in Melrose, Mass., rang out an appeal to citizens to go to the polls. The licensing of hard liquors was voted down 5,263 to 1,959, and beers and wines 4,949 to 2,189. The issue has returned to local communities, and this result shows what can be accomplished when the moral forces are aroused and united. The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church last November called for an "actual working unity" of the temperance forces of the country. An experienced observer, while heartily approving of the aim, points out the difficulties. "They are the same which thus far have prevented unification of the churches themselves. In both spheres there is need of greater mutual tolerance and willingness to sacrifice nonessentials for the sake of harmony. The first step would seem to be hearty agreement on the immediate objectives and the general methods. Able attorneys must work out plans by which the assets of existing organizations, legacies, etc., may be safeguarded and combined, and their liabilities all met." Conferences are already taking place to this end. The very definition of the word "harmony" ought to help: "The just adaptation of parts to each other in things intended to form a connected whole."

* * *

"Thrifty States"

The great increase of governmental expenditures is causing wide concern. The budgets of the states increased 407 per cent from 1915 to 1931. All of the New England states, except New Hampshire, whose expenditures increased 542 per cent, have records less than this average. Rhode Island, 329 per cent; Maine, 321 per cent; Vermont, 293 per cent; Connecticut, 290 per cent; and Massachusetts, with the smallest percentage of increase in the country, 177 per cent. In a recent article, Gov. Joseph B. Ely explains that "Massachusetts began preparing for the depression in 1917." A constitutional convention then reduced departments to 20. Public credit has been maintained. Public construction has been increased, but at a cost sometimes 30 per cent higher under the estimates. The net debt of its municipalities decreased $1,000,000, and their tax rates 6 per cent, in 1933. Mr. Charles P. Howard, of the commission on administration and finance, says that it is this commission which gives effective control of the budget, which other states have failed to provide. The returns of the state income tax this year will enable it to return to the municipalities twice the amounts given in 1933.

* * *

And So Forth

Gov. Ely has discharged Howard B. Gill from the superintendency of Norfolk Prison colony for laxity of discipline, while exonerating him from all charges of dishonesty and personal misconduct. His utterances were said to "stamp him as an extreme liberal." Mr. Gill attributes this action to the same "political domination" which has driven other progressives from office. He will remain in the state and do all in his power to break its dominance.

This country, declares Dean Luther A. Weigle of Yale divinity school, is headed for a new "spiritual awakening." It must adopt a "new puritanism" or it is socially lost. "The breakdown of individualism is patent. Everywhere men are turning toward planned economies. Governments will assume larger regulation of industry and the distribution of wealth. Like the changes in the early 19th century, the revolution will be quiet, with cataclysms, but pervasive as leaven and powerful as the rays of the sun. The new puritanism will call for obedience motivated by conscience and good will."

Rhode Island Congregationalists have arranged a statewide exchange of pulpits between city and country pastors.

The movement toward unionism is said to be making a record in Massachusetts. In 1932 there were 330 labor unions in the state, and now close to 900, with nearly half of the total number of wage workers in their membership.

Poultney, Vt., claims a "union church," organized by Baptists and Congregationalists in 1780. This would seem to make it the oldest union church in the country.

E. TALLMADGE ROOT.

Northern Baptists Meet in Rochester Next Month

"For such a time as this" is the theme and text of the Northern Baptist convention which is to meet in Rochester May 23-28. The chief addresses will bear upon this theme. Justin Wroe Nixon will discuss "Protestantism for Such a Time as This"; Austen K. de Blois, "Evangelism for Such a Time as This." D. R. Sharpe of Ohio, A. M. McDonald of Illinois and others will consider "Christ and His Church in the City"; Donald B. McQueen of New York, "Missions Around the World"; Hugh T. Kerr, "Missions in the Homeland." The presidential message, by W. S. Abernethy, will be followed by the keynote address, by Clarence W. Kemper. Daniel H. Clare of Massachusetts will deliver three devotional addresses, on "The Unwearied God," "The Upholding God" and "The Hidden God."

Reformed Church, Evangelical Synod, to Unite in June

The Reformed Church in the United States and the Evangelical Synod of North America will be organically united in June, with a total membership of 675,000. The new denomination is to be known as the Evangelical and Reformed church.

Women's Congress Against War Will Be Held in Paris

An international women's congress against war and fascism will be held in Paris, July 28-30. National committees composed of representatives from the more important women's organizations of the world will elect delegates to the congress. The call from the world committee is signed by Mme. Rolland, Countess Karoly and other prominent women of Europe.

Westminister Choir Will Give Concerts in Russia

The Westminster choir, famous organization directed by John Finley Williamson, has accepted an invitation from the Russian soviet government to give a series of 12 concerts in Russia during September.

Forum Discusses Jewish Question

Contribution of Race Considered—Former President Sues University—New Roman Catholic Bishop

(Correspondence from Indiana)

INDIANAPOLIS, April 14.—The extension division of Butler university, Dean A. E. Bailey director, is presenting another series of forum-discussions in its program of community and adult education. This series is entitled, "The Jewish Contribution to Civilization," and is under the direction of Dr. Abram Leon Sachar, national director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel foundation, and formerly of the faculty of the University of Illinois. The series is divided into three periods: The Hebraic heritage, the medieval heritage and the modern heritage.

* * *

Former President Sues University

Butler university is being sued for $100,000 damages by Dr. Walter S. Athearn, who was dismissed from the presidency of the institution. Dr. and Mrs. Athearn are still residing here. The publicity given his dismissal, together with the adverse implications of the case, Dr. Athearn claims, have made it difficult for him to secure a position, and have tended to degrade his reputation as an educator.

New Catholic Bishop

The Most Rev. Joseph Ritter has been selected as Catholic bishop of Indianapolis to succeed the late Bishop Chartrand. Bishop Ritter is only 41, but a man beloved by his people, with a fine blend of executive capacity and spirituality. He is also titular bishop of Hippo, Africa, which reminds us of another great churchman who was both Catholic—and Protestant!

* * *

Bishop Hughes Conducts Preaching Mission

Bishop E. H. Hughes of Washington was in town conducting a preaching "mission" among the Methodist churches recently. He also addressed the ministerial association, and told the ministers that while they should not let up on their reforms, they should give greater attention to comforting their people, and thus fulfil the command to heal the broken hearted.

* * *

Bird'seye View of the Hoosier State

The Indianapolis Times (edited by Talcott Powell, son of the famous Episcopal bishop) is considered the city's most radical newspaper. It has been running three interesting series of articles: Dickens' life of Christ, Secretary Wallace's series on religion and statesmanship, and another series by Humbert Pagani on the 200 years of Catholic history in Indiana. This paper is "riding" both Dr. Wirt and Senator Robinson—the latter seems to be riding for a forced senatorial vacation. At least, these two men, together with Dillinger and Gov. McNutt help to keep Indiana before the public eye! But it might be interesting for out-staters to know that in a recent high school vote, in a local class in

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The ninth Seminar in Mexico will consist of lectures, round-table discussions, and numerous field-trips—an extension of the plan successfully worked out during the first eight Seminars.

Among the round-tables will be:

1. *The Arts and Crafts of Mexico—led by Rene d' Harnoncourt.*
2. *The Music and Dance of Mexico—led by Carlos Chavez*
3. *The Literature of Mexico—led by Elizabeth Wallace and Berta Gamboa de Camino.*
4. *Social and Economic Problems of Mexico—led by Chester Lloyd Jones and Ramon Beteta.*
5. *The Archaeology of Mexico—led by Herbert J. Spinden.*
6. *Inter-American Relations—led by Edwin M. Borchard and Hubert C. Herring.*
7. *The Mexican Folk—led by Robert Redfield.*
8. *The Indian Question—led by W. Carson Ryan and Mexican educators.*

There will be lectures by a score of the best known Mexican artists, educators, and leaders in public life.

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Applications for membership and requests for information should be sent to

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XUM

history, over half of the youth thought Dillinger a hero! The veterans laud Robinson, the people of the state are generally sour on the governor, and Dr. Wirt expresses exactly what many of the Hoosier republicans feel to be all too true. Politically speaking, Indiana is a hot coal! (Incidentally the number of political aspirants is unusually large this primary.) Religiously speaking, it is quite traditional, grouped around denominational, historical and family interests. In some sections the mention of Fosdick's name is still anathema!

* * *

Father of Bishop Reaches 85

Dr. Cyrus U. Wade, father of Bishop R. J. Wade of the Stockholm (Methodist) area, one of the widely known Methodist ministers has received an avalanche of greetings upon his 85th birthday. He now resides in retirement in Muncie.

* * *

To Become President of Kansas College

Dr. D. M. Edwards, pastor of the First Friends church, one-time president of Earlham college, and now secretary of the Indiana council of international relations, has accepted the invitation to take over the presidency of the Friends college in Wichita, Kansas.

* * *

To Fight Over Old Wars Together

The Rev. O. A. Trinkle, pastor of one of the largest Disciples churches in the city, has sent out an invitation to 750 couples he has married in the last ten years, for a re-reunion. An appropriate service has been planned, and the pastor will speak on "Marriage."

* * *

And So Forth

Rev. Titus Lehman of St. Paul's Evangelical church has accepted a call to the United Evangelical church of Baltimore, Md., and moves there next week to take up his duties.

Rev. Morris H. Coers is a candidate at the primaries for the office of state representative on the democratic ticket. He supports the party's program for a better order. E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN.

NATIONALISM

MAN'S OTHER RELIGION

By Edward Shillito

The religion of nationalism, says Dr. Shillito, has eaten its way into the heart of nation after nation. It makes a stronger appeal to men than can be made by a church which only too often sells its soul to the state, and pronounces a blessing upon battleships and policies of war. . . . Here is the great challenge of the day to the Church of Christ, a challenge which it must answer, or hide once more within the catacombs.

(The Christian Science Monitor)

($1.50)

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Chicago : New York

Will Confer on Crisis

Noted Speakers to Lead in Discussion of World Problems in Chicago

Last February a group of Chicagoans met to discuss world peace and economic recovery, and decided to call a conference for May 12-14 to consider the general subject, "The International and Economic Crisis." The general committee in charge of the conference plans is headed by Philip Allan Swartz, who has just resigned from the pastorate of the First Congregational church, LaGrange, Ill., to become secretary of the Federal council. The committee of sponsors includes the names of Jewish, Catholic and Protestant leaders, such as C. W. Gilkey, Albert B. Coe, A. W. Palmer, H. N. Wieman, Preston Bradley, Miss Jane Addams, Robert M. Lovett, and S. J. Duncan Clark. The Morrison hotel has been designated as headquarters, meetings being held in the Cameo room, which seats 1500 persons.

This conference will follow the release of the analysis of the recent questionnaire on international and economic issues circulated among 100,000 ministers and rabbis. The program presents such speakers as Sherwood Eddy, Kirby Page, Paul Douglas, Norman Thomas, Charles Clayton Morrison, Ernest Fremont Tittle and Rabbi Louis L. Mann. Students and young people will hear the views of their own representatives.

The conference convenes on Saturday, May 12, at 3 p.m., with Sherwood Eddy speaking on "The Outlook for War and Peace." James Green, American student representative at the World disarmament conference, and Miss Faith Ralph, University of Michigan graduate, will speak for American students on the theme, "Can Education Guarantee Peace?" The mass meeting in the evening will present "The International Crisis." Rabbi Mann will speak on the theme, "Should the Synagogue Refuse to Cooperate in War?" Kirby Page will consider the same subject from the standpoint of the Christian church. Sunday afternoon there will be a mass meeting for young people at which Sherwood Eddy and Norman Thomas will speak on "What Youth Faces." Sunday evening at 8 o'clock "The Economic Crisis" will be considered. Paul Douglas will speak on the subject, "What the Roosevelt Administration is Trying to Do," and Norman Thomas on "What the People May Do in This Crisis." The Monday program is planned especially for religious leaders; Norman Thomas and Kirby Page will discuss "The Peace Program of the Churches." The noon luncheon will be addressed by Charles Clayton Morrison. Following a business session and the presentation of findings and resolutions, Ernest Fremont Tittle will close the conference with a call to consecration to "The Task Before Us."

Out of town delegates may secure special room rates at the Hotel Morrison. The registration fee is $1.00; 50 cents for students and young people. Single admission fees to meetings will be 25 cents, for young people 10 cents.

Friends Face Crisis With Appeal for Peace

The Philadelphia yearly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends has issued a statement in which it is conceded that "the world is menaced by another war," which however "is not inevitable." "Our own country," the statement reads, "is facing a great issue: Shall she cooperate wholeheartedly with other nations in organizing the world to prevent war and provide justice, or shall she go her own way, insist upon complete freedom of action, refuse all commitments and responsibilities for peace, and rely upon her own armed power?" "We urge our country to abandon the policy of power, the policy of huge armaments. We appeal to our nation to devote her prestige, her moral force and the abilities of her statesmen to the international institutions which can prevent war. . . . We urge her to join the world court. We appeal for immediate steps to find the way in which our nation can make her contribution to world peace through the League of Nations."

Dr. Stewart Robinson New Editor of The Presbyterian

Rev. Stewart M. Robinson, pastor of the Second Presbyterian church, Elizabeth, N. J., has been elected editor of the Presbyterian, national weekly published in Philadelphia. Dr. Robinson succeeds his father, Rev. W. Courtland Robinson, who retired from the editorship last fall because of ill health. His son has been acting editor. Acceptance of the editorship will not interfere with his continuing as pastor of the Elizabeth church.

Death of Dr. William M. Lawrence, at 86

Rev. William M. Lawrence, former Baptist pastor and teacher, died at his home in Hamilton, N. Y., April 10, at 86 years of age. Dr. Lawrence was minister at Second Baptist church, Chicago, from 1880 to 1905; from Chicago he went to North Orange church, Orange, N. J. In 1912 he became lecturer in Christian ethics at Colgate seminary. At one time he was president of the Colgate board of trustees. During his Chicago pastorate he was a member of the original board of trustees of the University of Chicago divinity school.

Oberlin Group Votes Never to Fight for U. S.

Oberlin college students attending an anti-war meeting held at the college, as a part of the national anti-war demonstration, voted 96 to 13 in favor of a resolution that "under no circumstances will we support or cooperate with the government of the United States in any war it may conduct." Other resolutions adopted by the group favored abolition of military training schools and colleges; distribution of military training funds to unemployed and needy students; support of "international struggles of the working class against imperialist war"; cooperation with the League of Nations, and indorsement of the policies of the American league against war and fascism.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Crime Doctor

(Otto Kruger, Karen Morley, Nils Asther) (RKO) Above average crime mystery, overacted at times but with excellent cast, good suspense, character interest and surprise ending. Great detective, losing wife's affection, commits perfect crime and gets rival convicted. Mature situation but free from offense or suggestiveness.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Mature. For C: No.

Heat Lightning

(Aline McMahon, Preston Foster) (Warner) Reformed heroine wanting oblivion, and younger sister wanting the opposite, run desert filling-station-camp. Day's guests include crooks, gay ladies, chauffeur. Plot thickens. That night heroine, sister, and lady yield to crook, worthless yokel, and chauffeur—hence "drama."

For A: Crude. For Y: Unwholesome. For C: No.

Horse Play

(Slim Summerville, Andy Devine) (Universal) Stupid hash of labored comedy and crazy adventures of dumb western ranchers who make a sudden million. Clumsy love affair begins at ranch and ends in London, complicated by crooks, hoboes and a duchess. Quite funny in spots for those who laugh easily.

For A: Ridiculous. For Y: Hardly. For C: No.

Men in White

(Jean Hersholt, Clark Gable) (MGM) Largely an expert and interesting portrayal of workings of fine modern hospital and the medical profession's devotion to service. Then "love interest." Hero's snobbish fiancee cools, lonely little nurse seduces him, dies, and fiancee returns for happy moral ending.

For A: Mostly interesting. For Y: Doubtful. For C: No.

The Quitter

(Charley Grapewin, Emma Dunn) (Chesterfield) Homely, unpretentious little character comedy of the struggles of deserted mother to carry on village newspaper. Her two wrangling sons are little help until wandering father returns and shows his real worth. Well acted only by principals.

For A: Ordinary. For Y: Fair. For C: Little interest.

Sing and Like It

(Zasu Pitts, E. E. Horton) (RKO) Absurd and slow-moving farce which satirizes influence of the gangsters. Much footage is devoted to Zasu's terrible singing which so affects a sentimental racketeer that he forces big producer to star her, and a leading critic to acclaim her.

For A: Mediocre. For Y: Harmless. For C: Hardly.

Sweden, Land of the Vikings

(John W. Boyle production) Outstanding travelogue in fine color photography, blending ancient and modern charms of Swedish cities, beautiful countryside, manners, customs, and age-old traditions of the people. Worth while for everybody, its effectiveness marred only by clumsy attempts at humor by commentator.

For A: Very good. For Y: Excellent. For C: Very good.

Best Recent Films for Family:

This Side of Heaven	David Harum
Hi, Nellie!	Smoky
Before Midnight	Wild Cargo

Films of Special Interest to Adults:

I Was a Spy	Catherine the Great
Carolina	The Lost Patrol
Death Takes a Holiday	Rip Tide

BOOKS RECEIVED

Sky Determines, an Interpretation of the Southwest, by Ross Calvin. Macmillan, $2.50.

Literature of the Italian Renaissance, by Jefferson Butler Fletcher. Macmillan, $3.00.

Religious Values in Japanese Culture, by T. T. Brumbaugh. Christian Literature Society of Japan, Tokyo, $1.00.

The New Vacation Church School, by W. Dyer Blair. Harpers, $1.50.

Can I Know God? by Frederick B. Fisher. Harpers, $1.00.

Tales from the Old Testament, by H. W. Fox. Harpers, $1.00.

Traveling Through Life, by Clara E. Laughlin. Houghton Mifflin Company, $3.00.

The Meaning and Message of the Fourth Gospel, by C. J. Wright. Abingdon, $2.00.

A Guide to Civilized Loafing, by H. A. Overstreet. Norton, $2.00.

Songs and Solaces, by Maud Slye. Stratford, $3.00.

International Economic Life, by John A. Ryan and others. Catholic Association for International Peace, 10 cents.

How Odd of God, an Introduction to the Jews, by Lewis Browne. Macmillan, $2.50.

Technics and Civilization, by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, $4.50.

Designed for Reading, an anthology drawn from the Saturday Review of Literature, edited by Henry Seidel Canby. Macmillan, $3.00.

The Cause and Cure of Unemployment, by John S. Lennox. Author, Pittsfield, Mass.

And Now, Youth! by Viola Ilma. Robert O. Ballou, 50 cents.

The Chances of Surviving Death, by William Pepperell Montague. (Ingersol Lecture) Harvard, $1.00.

Orientals in American Life, by Albert W. Palmer. Friendship Press, $1.00.

Rainbow Bridge, by Florence Crannell Means, Friendship Press, $1.50.

The Architecture of the Universe, by W. F. G. Swann. Macmillan, $3.75.

It's Our Fault!

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is out of stock! Not a single copy is available for sale today! A new—and generous printing—is being rushed through the presses in Norwood, Mass., and we promise to have copies ready for shipment on April 27—and sooner if humanly possible!

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(To the Booktrade: All orders received on or before April 27 will be wired to the bindery and shipment will be made direct from Norwood to your store. You should receive your copies by Monday, April 30. Please wire us (collect) if they don't arrive by that time. Please accept our apologies for any annoyance which our shortsightedness may have caused you.)

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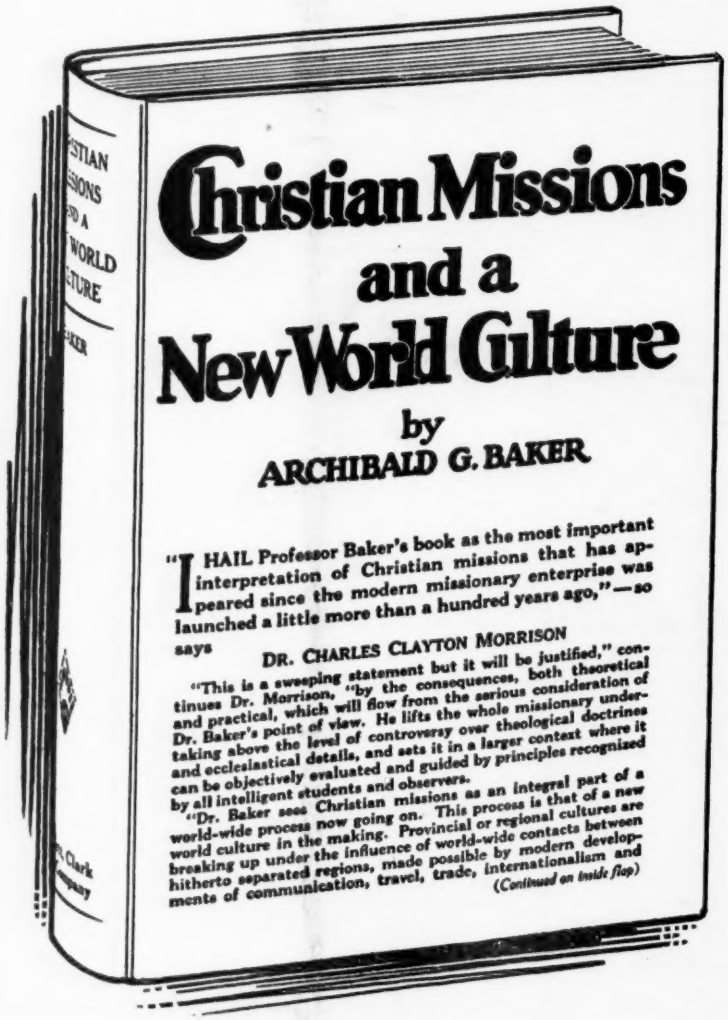
Says the (April) Religious Book Club Bulletin

in selecting this as the Religious Book-of-the-Month for April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